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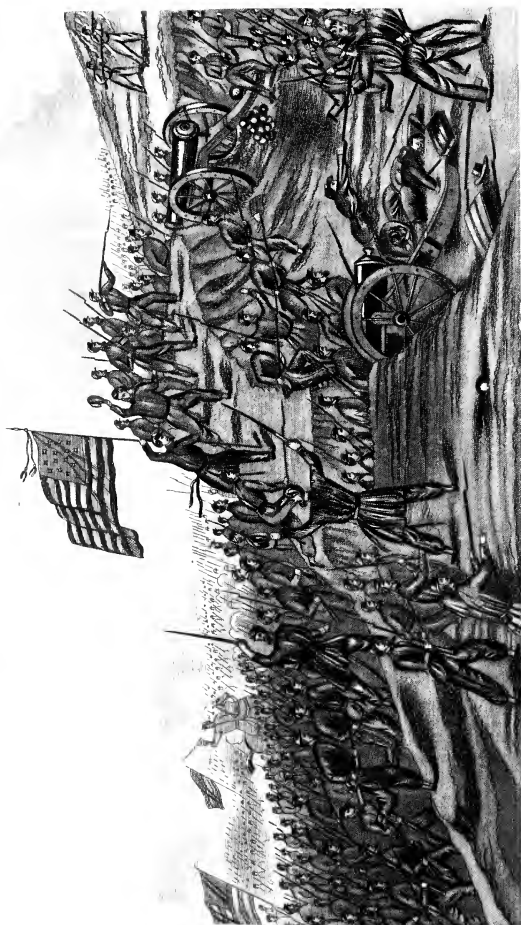
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THE CHARGE AT FAIRBANKS, 1863

HISTORY OF THE GREAT REBELLION,

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO ITS CLOSE, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS ORIGIN, THE

SECESSION OF THE SOUTHERN STATES,

AND THE FORMATION OF THE

CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT,

THE CONCENTRATION OF THE MILITARY AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS VAST POWER, THE RAISING, ORGANIZING, AND EQUIPPING OF
THE CONTENDING ARMIES AND NAVIES; LUCID, VIVID AND ACCURATE DESCRIPTIONS
OF BATTLES AND BOMBARDMENTS, SIEGES AND SURRENDER OF FORTS, CAPTURED
BATTERIES, ETC., ETC.; THE IMMENSE FINANCIAL RESOURCES AND COM-
PREHENSIVE MEASURES OF THE GOVERNMENT, THE ENTHUSIASM
AND PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PEOPLE, TOGETHER
WITH SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF ALL THE EMINENT
STATESMEN AND MILITARY AND NAVAL
COMMANDERS.

From Official Sources.

By THOMAS P. KETTEL,

LATE EDITOR OF "HUNT'S MERCHANTS' MAGAZINE," EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR OF THE "CENTURY,"
"ARMY AND NAVY CHRONICLE," THE "BANKERS' CIRCULAR," NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT
OF A WASHINGTON JOURNAL, &C., &C.

EMBELLISHED WITH OVER 125 ENGRAVINGS, INCLUDING 90 PORTRAITS OF PROMINENT
STATESMEN, MILITARY AND NAVAL OFFICERS, AND 20 FULL-PAGE BATTLE
AND OTHER SCENES, ON STEEL, ILLUSTRATING THE VARIED AND EXCITING
SCENES OF THE WAR, WITH NUMEROUS MAPS, GIVING THE
LOCATION OF ALL IMPORTANT MILITARY POINTS.

THREE VOLS.—VOL. II.

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C. A. ALVOED,
STEREOTYPED AND PRINTER.

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JUDAH P. BENJAMIN, Sec. of War



JEFFERSON DAVIS



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS



GEN. JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE



BRIG. GEN. STONEWALL JACKSON



GEN. BENJ. M. CULLOUGH



BRIG. GEN. HARDEE



LIEUT. MAURY



BRIG. GEN. POLK



GEN. JOHN B. FLOYD



GEN. BENT



GEN. M. L. BONHAM

CHAPTER XVII.

Foreign Mission of the Confederates.—Mr. Black's Instructions.—Mr. Seward's Letter of Instructions.—Mr. Dallas's Protest.—Lord John Russell.—Recognition.—Mr. Adams.—Earl Russell and the Confederates.—France.—Mr. Faulkner.—Mr. Dayton.—France Recognizes *de facto* Governments.—The Confederate Argument.—Queen's proclamation.—Neutrality.—Foreign Recognition of the Belligerent Rights of the South.—Mr. Seward's Reply.—Prussia.—Belgium.—Russia.—Gortchakoff's Letter.—Confederate Letter to Earl Russell.—Rights of Neutrals.—Spain.—Mexico.—Mr. Corwin.—Miramon.—The Coalition.—Monroe Doctrine.—The Trent Affair.

WHEN early in 1861 it had become apparent that the attempted formation of a Southern Confederacy was inevitable, it was obvious that the first efforts of the leaders in the movement would be directed toward obtaining the aid and countenance of foreign nations, and that those efforts would be based upon the advantages which the South might have to offer to those who might first come forward to their assistance. To counteract these probable attempts, Mr. Black, secretary of state under Mr. Buchanan, addressed, February 28th, a circular to all the ministers of the United States abroad. In this circular he states that the election of last November resulted in the choice of Mr. Abraham Lincoln; that he was the candidate of the republican or anti-slavery party; that the preceding discussion had been confined almost entirely to topics connected, directly or indirectly, with the subject of negro slavery; that every Northern state cast its whole

electoral vote (except three in New Jersey) for Mr. Lincoln, while in the whole South the popular sentiment against him was almost absolutely universal. Some of the Southern states immediately after the election took measures for separating themselves from the Union, and others soon followed their example. The result of the movement was the formation of what was styled the "Confederate States of America." He then proceeded to say that it was not improbable that persons claiming to represent those states would seek a recognition of foreign powers, and enjoined the ministers to exert themselves to the utmost to prevent the success of the application. "The reasons," he continues, "set forth in the President's message at the opening of the present session of Congress, in support of his opinion that the states have no constitutional power to secede from the Union, are yet unanswered, and are believed to be unanswerable. The grounds upon which they have attempted to justify the revolutionary act of severing the bonds which connect them with their sister states, are regarded as wholly insufficient. This government has not relinquished its constitutional jurisdiction within the territory of those states, and does not desire to do so."

On the 4th of March, the new administration came into power, composed of a new President, a new party, and a new cabinet, none of the members of which had ever before held such positions. Almost simultaneously with their advent to power the Confederate commissioners, Messrs. Yancey, Mann and Röst, delegated to England, France, Russia and Belgium, were appointed, and sailed for their destinations, to ask the recognition of the Confederate States as a member of the family of nations, and to make with each of those powers treaties of amity and commerce. They at once proceeded on their mission by way of Havana. On the 9th of March, Mr. Seward addressed a circular to all the ministers, in which he alluded to the instructions of his predecessor, and stated that the President renewed those injunctions, and relied

upon the exercise of the greatest possible diligence and fidelity on their part to counteract the designs of those who would invoke foreign intervention to embarrass or overthrow the republic. They were instructed to urge upon the government to which they were accredited that "the present disturbances had their origin only in popular passions excited under novel circumstances of a very transient character; and that while not one person of well-balanced mind has attempted to show that dismemberment of the Union would be permanently conducive to the safety and welfare of even his own state or section, much less of all the states and sections of our country, the people themselves still retain and cherish a profound confidence in our happy constitution, together with a veneration and affection for it such as no other form of government ever received at the hands of those for whom it was established." Mr. Dallas, the American minister, having submitted to Lord John Russell the representations contained in Mr. Seward's general circular, the minister replied, that the queen's government would be highly gratified if the difficulties could be settled, and that the time was not ripe for a decision in respect to doing any thing to encourage the hopes of the Confederates, whose commissioners were in London. On the 2d of May Mr. Dallas writes that Lord John Russell had remarked that although he had not seen the commissioners, he was not unwilling to do so unofficially. The fact that the English minister was willing to grant an interview at all to the Confederate commissioners was very distasteful to the American government, since intercourse of any kind with them was liable to be construed as a recognition, and, moreover, unofficial intercourse was the most injurious since it left no means of information to the government as to the points discussed. Mr. Adams, who had replaced Mr. Dallas, was therefore instructed to desist from any intercourse whatever with the British government as long as it should hold communications with the domestic enemies of this country.

The negotiations with France tended to the same point. Mr. Faulkner in replying to the letter of Mr. Black, of February 28th, stated, that the French government fully sympathized with the North, and regarded the proposed dismemberment with no pleasure, and was not prepared to look favorably upon the Confederacy. The French minister, M. Thouvenel, stated, that the French government would not act hastily in the matter, that the maintenance of the Union was required by the best interests of France, but, at the same time, the practice and usage of the present century was to recognize a *de facto* government when a proper case was made out. The minister in conversation with Mr. Dayton, who succeeded Mr. Faulkner, stated, "that historical precedents were in favor of treating Southern vessels as those of a belligerent, and of applying the same doctrine to them as had always been upheld by the United States." He dwelt upon the fact that during the American revolution Great Britain did not treat the privateers as pirates. He stated that an effective blockade would be fully recognized. On the 30th of May Mr. Seward instructed Mr. Dayton to protest against any communication, official or otherwise, between the French government and the Southern commissioners, and that the United States would not rest content to have the Confederate states recognized as a belligerent power by any foreign state or states; that existing measures "will terminate the unhappy contest at an early day, and be followed by benefits to ourselves and to all nations, greater and better assured than those which have hitherto attended our national progress."

Meantime, the English minister had, on the 4th of May, held an interview with the Confederate agents. They urged upon the minister that the ground of the present difficulty with the North was not slavery, but the high tariffs the South was compelled to pay on imported goods as a protection to New England interests, to the impoverishment of the South; that the new Confederate government had

abolished the slave-trade forever, and had reduced all import duties, while the North had greatly increased the duties on imported goods. The governments of France and England meanwhile came to an understanding that they should act together in regard to American affairs, and the other European states, being apprised of the agreement, were expected to concur in it. Following these events on the 13th of May the queen's proclamation appeared. This was on the day of the arrival of Mr. Adams, the new American minister, in London, and the proclamation was made without a previous interview with him. That document, in proclaiming the neutrality of the British government, recognized the South as a belligerent power, and as consequently having the right to issue letters of marque and to authorize privateers. The other powers took the same course. On the 15th of June, the British and French ministers at Washington had an interview with Mr. Seward, and proposed to read to him the instructions which they had received from their governments. Mr. Seward declined to listen to them officially, until he should first know the nature of their contents. They were left for his perusal, when it appeared that they contained a decision, at which the British government had arrived, to the effect that the country is divided into two belligerent parties, of which the United States government is one, and that Great Britain assumes the attitude of a neutral power between them. Mr. Seward, consequently, declined to receive the papers officially, and in writing to Mr. Adams on the subject, remarked, in effect, that the government held that although a state of internal commotion existed, such as had frequently been the case in other nations, the United States were still solely and exclusively sovereign within their own territories; that the law of nations and existing treaties have the same force now as before; that Great Britain could neither rightfully qualify the sovereignty of the United States, nor concede nor recognize any rights, or interests, or power of any party, state, or section, in con-

travention to the unbroken sovereignty of the Federal Union; that although the government was obliged to employ force to execute its laws, that fact did not justify other powers in intervening or acting as neutrals between the loyal and disobedient citizens. The English minister had stated in conversation with Mr. Adams, that the great *fact* of a war of two sides existed. A number of states and several millions of people were in a state of actual war, their cruisers were on the sea, and their agents abroad. The fact was undeniable, and the embarrassment unavoidable. The only duty of the British government in this, as in all preceding cases, was to remain entirely neutral, and that was all that was contemplated by the queen's proclamation.

On the 17th of June, Mr. Seward addressed Mr. Dayton on the subject of the visit of the French and English ministers, to lay before him the views of their respective governments, giving his reasons for not receiving the document, and he trusted that fact need not disturb the good relations between the two countries. Mr. Seward said: "It is erroneous, so far as foreign nations are concerned, to suppose that any war exists in the United States. Certainly there cannot be two belligerent powers where there is no war. . . . There is indeed an armed sedition seeking to overthrow the government, and the government employs military and naval force to repress it. But these facts do not constitute a war presenting two belligerent powers, and modifying the national character, rights, and responsibilities, or the characters, rights, and responsibilities of foreign nations." The American people will consent to no intervention. "Down deep in the heart of the American people—deeper than the love of trade, or of freedom—deeper than the attachments to any local or sectional interest, or partisan pride, or individual ambition—deeper than any other sentiment, is that one out of which the constitution of this Union arose, namely, independence of all foreign control, alliance, or influence."

Mr. Wright continued to represent the government at the court of Prussia, until the arrival of his successor, Mr. Judd. Mr. Seward, in his letter of instructions to Mr. Judd, called his attention to the general circular, and stated:

"This government not only wisely but necessarily hesitates to resort to coercion and compulsion to secure a return of the disaffected portion of the people to their accustomed allegiance. The Union was formed upon the popular consent, and must always practically stand upon the same basis. The temporary causes of alienation must pass away. But to this end, it is of the greatest importance that the disaffected states shall not succeed in obtaining favor or recognition from foreign nations."

Mr. Wright wrote, May 8th, that Baron Von Schleinitz gave the most positive assurances that the Prussian government, from the principle of unrelenting opposition to all revolutionary movements, would be one of the last to recognize any *de facto* government of the disaffected States of the American Union."

Mr. Sanford, who represented the government at Belgium, wrote, May 26th, that the minister had assured him that no application from the Southern commissioners would be entertained if made, but complained bitterly of the new United States tariff as very prejudicial to Belgian interests.

The intercourse with Russia produced a very remarkable letter from Prince Gortchakoff to the minister De Stoeckl, which he was directed to read to the members of the government. In it the emperor's government deplored the dangers that threatened the Union, and earnestly advised its maintenance.

"In any event, the sacrifices which they might impose upon themselves to maintain it are beyond comparison with those which dissolution would bring after it. United, they perfect themselves. Isolated, they are paralyzed. The struggle which unhappily has just arisen, can neither be indefinitely prolonged nor lead to the total destruction of one of the parties; sooner or later, it will be necessary to come to some settlement, whatever it may be, which may cause the divergent interests now actually in conflict to coexist."

On the 14th of August, after the news of the battle of

Bull Run had arrived in Europe, the Southern commissioners addressed a lengthy document to Earl Russell, in which, recurring to their interview of the 4th of May, they endeavored to give satisfactory evidence of the justice of their cause, and to show that the people of the South had violated no principle of allegiance in the act of secession. They then discussed the neutrality of the British government, regretting that prizes were not allowed to be carried into British ports. They set forth the productive powers of the South, its great wealth, and the advantages of commerce that they offer. They stated that the object of the war was "to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; that the party in power had proposed to guarantee slavery forever, if the South would submit to the will of the majority, in other words, to the will of the North." They further stated, that it was the design of the North to resort to servile war by arming the negroes. Earl Russell replied, August 24th, simply reiterating the neutral position of Great Britain, stating that Her Majesty could not undertake to determine by anticipation the issue of the civil war, "nor can she acknowledge the independence of the nine states which are now combined against the President and Congress of the United States, until the fortune of arms, or the more peaceful mode of negotiation, shall more clearly determine the respective positions of the two belligerents."

The secretary of state, April 24th, issued a circular to the foreign ministers in relation to the rights of neutrals and the recognition of privateering. The discussion which followed, and the attempt of the British government to hamper the proposed convention between England, France, and the United States, with conditions which would have rendered it valueless, have been already related.

The Spanish government seemed inclined to favor the Southern cause, but was apparently held in check by the attitude of France and England. The following procla-

mation, issued in August, by the captain-general of Cuba, in some degree indicates her policy :

"In virtue of the proclamation by her majesty the Queen, I have determined, under date of August 7th, that all vessels occupied in legitimate commerce, proceeding from ports in the Confederate states, shall be entered and cleared under the Confederate flag, and shall be duly protected by the authority of the island. Foreign consuls will be notified that no interference on their part will be tolerated."

This disposition on the part of Spain grew, to some extent, out of her relations with Mexico, which were becoming daily more complicated, and which, if the United States should adhere to their established policy in relation to the intrigues of foreign nations on this continent, would be likely to involve the two powers.

The government of Mexico had been, since 1860, in the hands of President Juarez, representing the constitutional party, as opposed to the church party, so called, because it included most of the priests, in whose hands was the greater part of the property of the Nation, and who bitterly opposed all progress and freedom. To his government Thomas Corwin was by the new administration sent as minister, in 1861. In his letter of instructions to Mr. Corwin, Mr. Seward enjoined him to impress upon the Mexican government that Mexico could not be benefited by the prostration of the Federal union.

"On the other hand, a condition of anarchy in Mexico must necessarily operate as a seduction to those who are conspiring against the integrity of the Union to seek aggrandizement for themselves by conquests in Mexico and other parts of Spanish America." . . . "You may possibly meet agents of this projected Confederacy busy in preparing some further revolution in Mexico. You will not fail to assure the government of Mexico that the President never has, nor can ever have, any sympathy with such designs, *in whatever quarter they may arise, or whatever character they may take on.*"

Mr. Corwin wrote, May 29th, "that Mexico was unwilling to enter into engagements that might result in war with the South, unless protected by aid from the United States." Again, "Mexico regards the United States as its only true and reliable friend in any war which may involve her national existence."

Meantime, General Miramon, the leader of the church party, was at Madrid, seeking Spanish aid to restore his party to power in Mexico. These efforts ripened into the convention between France, Great Britain and Spain, entered into October 31st, 1861, for intervention in the affairs of Mexico, and to claim redress of wrongs. The fourth article of the convention provided that a copy of it should be laid before the United States government, which should be invited to accede to it. This was done, and Mr. Lincoln objected to the measures of the convention, but owing to the existence of civil war in our borders we were unable to make, with effect, such an energetic protest as the occasion would otherwise have demanded. The Monroe doctrine, which had proclaimed that the United States would not see any European intervention with the object of controlling the destinies of any American nation under any other aspect than that of a manifestation of hostility toward the United States, was still the sentiment of the American people. Mr. Seward, in a letter on the subject, remarked that the President relied upon the good faith of the allies in respect to their not seeking any permanent aggrandizement in that country, and argued that the establishment of a monarchy in Mexico could not be permanently successful or prevent continued revolutions.

The results of the national diplomacy thus far were that the foreign nations, while expressing hopes for a restoration of the Union, had first acknowledged the belligerent rights of the South; secondly, had refused to accede to the United States proposition to consider their privateers as pirates; thirdly, had intimated that the recognition of the South, as a nation, was only a question of time, and of proof of a certain degree of consistency on the part of the Southern government; fourthly, they perfected against Mexico a coalition, which sixteen years before had failed through respect to the United States. These facts became apparent and fixed toward the close of September,

when negotiations in relation to them were suspended. It was then that, under date of October 14th, Mr. Seward issued a circular to the governors of all the states, stating that the disloyal citizens were making every effort to involve the country in a foreign war, and that every precaution was necessary to guard against it, and appealing to the individual states to perfect their defences with their own resources, the expenses to be a subject of future consideration with the Federal government. This was speedily followed by an occurrence which renewed in the most earnest and threatening manner the correspondence with foreign governments.

The appointment of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, by the Confederate states, as ambassadors, the first to England, and the second to France, had been a source of some anxiety to the Federal government. It was rumored that they had sailed in the ship *Nashville*, which ran the blockade from Charleston October 11th, and vessels were sent in pursuit. It turned out, however, that the rumor was a feint, since the commissioners, with their families, embarked on board the *Theodora*, which left Charleston at nearly the same time as the *Nashville*, bound for Cardenas, it being the intention of the commissioners to take the British mail steamer from Havana. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th of November, they went on board the steamer *Trent*, which runs between Vera Cruz and St. Thomas *via* Havana. On the morning of the 8th, when in the old Bahama channel, the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, approached, and when within a furlong's length, fired a shot across the *Trent's* bow, at the same time hoisting the American flag. The *Trent* continued her route, when the *San Jacinto*, with her men at quarters and guns run out, fired a shell, which, bursting within one hundred yards of the *Trent*, brought her to. The *San Jacinto* sent a boat on board with two officers and twenty armed men. They demanded the surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with the

Messrs. Eustis and McFarland, belonging to the embassy. Captain Moir, of the Trent, and the navy agent, Commander Williams, R. N., protested against the capture. The commissioners claimed the protection of the British flag, but the officer of the San Jacinto said they were the men he sought and he would take them at all hazards. Commander Williams denounced it as an act of "wanton piracy." Three other boats then came from the San Jacinto, with thirty marines and sixty sailors, who leaped on deck, sword in hand. The commissioners were then taken into the boats with as much show of force as was necessary, and the Trent proceeded on her way. When the commissioners were on board the San Jacinto they drew up a protest against the proceedings of Captain Wilkes. The San Jacinto arrived with the prisoners, who were transferred to Fort Warren, Boston. The public mind was greatly excited by the event. Congress voted thanks to Captain Wilkes, and the secretary of the navy endorsed the proceeding, with the qualification that Captain Wilkes had not gone far enough, but should have captured the Trent. A banquet was given to Captain Wilkes in Boston, Governor Andrew presiding, and Chief-Justice Bigelow present. Resolutions highly complimentary to Captain Wilkes, and defiant of England, were passed. The capture caused the most earnest discussion in the United States, and a number of the leading authorities, Mr. Theophilus Parsons, Mr. Edward Everett, and many others, volunteered opinions publicly upon the entire right of the United States to make the capture, urging, however, that the Trent should have been captured and brought into port in order that the case might be adjudicated by the proper authorities. In England the news was received with the most intense excitement. Immediate preparations for war were undertaken on a large scale, and a demand for the release of the prisoners was made through the British minister, Lord Lyons. The event caused as much excitement in Europe as in England, and the French

minister, M. Thouvenel, immediately addressed a letter to this government, in which he strongly advised the prompt restoration of the men to British protection, and added :

“If to our deep regret the cabinet at Washington approve the conduct of the commander of the San Jacinto, there would be a forgetfulness, extremely annoying, of principles upon which we have always found the United States in agreement with us.”

On the presentation by Lord Lyons of the British demand to the government at Washington, it was assented to for the reason, as stated in a communication from Mr. Seward, that Capt. Wilkes's proceedings were irregular in not capturing the vessel and bringing her into port for adjudication: and instructions were sent to Boston to deliver the prisoners to the representatives of the British government. They were consequently sent on board an English steamer lying ready, and in her conveyed to St. Thomas, thence to England, by the mail steamer, and arrived at Southampton January 30th. Thus passed a war-cloud, which at one time threatened the most serious consequences, and the effect of which had been heightened in England by the circular of Mr. Seward, before mentioned, addressed to the governors of all the states, urging the importance of perfecting the defences of the states, in view of the possibility of a foreign war. This result of the affair produced the greatest disappointment in the Southern states, since it had been supposed that war would inevitably grow out of the capture between the United States and Great Britain; the more so, that Congress, and one member of the cabinet, in his official report, had fully endorsed the capture. When, therefore, the men were promptly surrendered, and the chance of war ceased, great despondency overtook the Confederates, which was increased by the fact that this occurred at a time when the victorious armies of the North were in motion to drive them out of the border states.

The year 1862 thus set in most auspiciously for the Federal arms and prospects.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Age of Invention.—American Rifle Skill.—Change in Arms.—Artillery Range.—Rifle Range.—Rifle Balls.—French Rifle.—Minié.—Springfield Rifle.—Enfield Rifle.—Repeating Arms.—Carbines.—Artillery.—The Stockton Gun.—The Rodman Gun.—Columbiads.—Range.—Weight of Shot.—Parrott Gun.—Dahlgrens.—Whitworth.—Steel Cannon.—Mortars.—Howitzers.—Table of Guns in Service.—Projectiles.—Whitworth.—Hotchkiss.—Sawyer.—Schenkl.—Shells.—Spherical-Case Shot.—Fuse.—Batteries.

IN this present age of invention the science of arms has made great progress. In fact, the greatest inventions have been made since the prolonged wars of Europe, and the short Italian campaign of France in 1859, served to illustrate how great a power the engines of destruction can exert. The improvement has been alike in small arms and in ordnance. In small arms the rifle has come to supersede the old smooth-bore musket almost altogether. The rifle, which was grooved in the barrel, was one of the first forms of manufacture for fire-arms in the sixteenth century; but the musket was preferred on account of its more speedy loading. The great skill of the American colonists in the use of the rifle during the revolution brought the weapon again into notice, and when the percussion-cap was added, it gained much in public favor. Recently it has become so much improved, as to supplant not only the old musket, but to affect artillery also, thus changing the tactics of the battle-field. Since the "wars of the roses" in England, nine-tenths of all the battles in the world have been decided by projectiles, artillery and musketry, without crossing a bayonet or drawing a sword. The cavalry, as an arm, has gradually lost ground, except in a defeat, when it can follow up a flying enemy. It never could

break an infantry square even when armed only with pikes, and recent events have shown it cannot reach infantry in line. Artillery, however, played a more important part, and under the great captain of France, it was declared to win the favor of Providence. The great improvements in rifles and rifle practice have, however, changed all that, since it has become easy to silence guns by picking off the gunners. In the text-book of the St. Cyr military school it is directed, that the fire of artillery should cease when the enemy is distant 1,200 yards. At Waterloo, the opposing armies were 1,200 yards distant, and, as a consequence, were out of reach of all but solid shot from field-guns as they were then served. The improved small arms are now effective, it is stated, at a mile, and troops can shoot each other at 2,000 yards. From this it is manifest the small arms which could kill gunners out of reach of cannon-shot had acquired the superiority, until guns were, in their turn, so improved as to restore their importance.

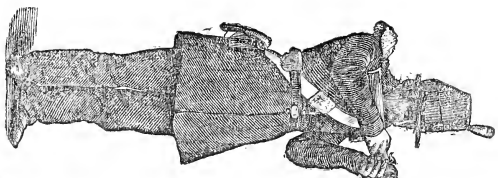
The improvements in rifles are mostly in the ball, which is of conical shape, hollow at the base, and intended to spread so as to slug the piece or fill the grooves as it passes out. To effect this spreading of the base of the ball, the French pin-rifle had a small steel pin in the bottom of the chamber. The powder filled in around this pin, and the ball having a small metal plate in its hollow base, on being rammed hard against this pin, the plate was forced into the ball and spread it into the grooves of the rifle. The Minié rifle, the invention of Colonel Minié, was nearly the same without the pin, since it was found that the explosion would of itself spread the ball. The performances of this weapon are somewhat marvellous, since it is said that it can be made effective at a mile distance. The arm mostly used by the United States infantry is the Springfield rifle. This piece is forty inches long in the barrel. The bore is 0.58 inch in diameter, and the ball is a conical cylinder, hollow at the base, and

weighs 500 grains. The service charge of powder is sixty grains. The barrel has three grooves which make one half turn in the whole length. These guns, including bayonet, ramrod, &c., are composed of eighty-four pieces, of which twenty-six are of steel, and two of wood. All are made by machinery, each piece separately, and all so exactly alike that they may be used indiscriminately; a number of injured guns may be taken apart, and a perfect rifle constructed from them. The immense advantage of uniformity is thus attained. This mode of manipulation is purely American, and similar machines were made in New England, and sent to England for the manufacture of the weapon, which is there called the Enfield rifle, because made at the government armory at Enfield. The cost of the Springfield rifle is \$13 50 for each gun, and \$14 93 complete with the appendages. There have been a great number of inventions of breech-loading and other weapons, but the American war department has finally fixed upon the muzzle-loading and percussion locks.

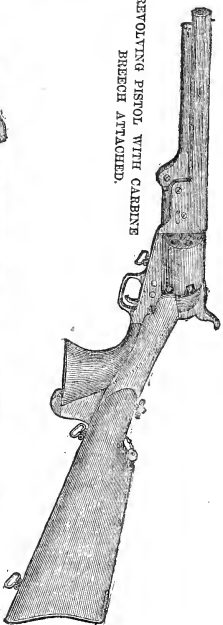
The inventions of repeating arms have been many, of which Colt's is the most famous. The well understood principle is a revolving breech of six chambers, which are brought, in turn, in a line with the barrel by each successive movement of the lock. Sharps' rifle is a breech-loading and self-priming piece, invented in 1852. The barrel is made of cast steel bored out. As a carbine it is used in the cavalry arm. These revolving rifles, both Colt's and Sharps', of superior construction, have been fitted with telescopic sights adapted for execution at long distances. The carbine is a weapon between the rifle and the pistol in weight and length; it is usually breech-loading, and is sometimes furnished with a bayonet in the form of a sword, which may also be used as a side-arm. There are three of these favorably reported upon by the board of officers, Burnside's, Sharps', and Maynard's. The first was invented by General Burnside, and was by him manufactured at one time in Providence. The chamber of this

COLT'S

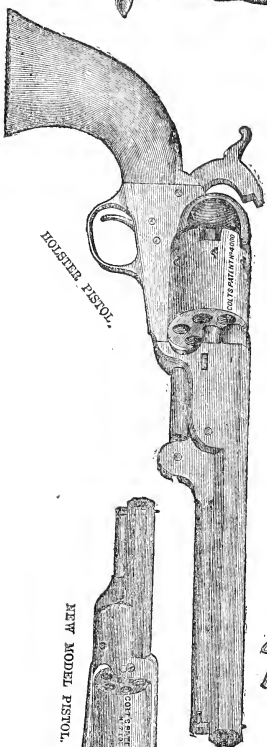
MILITARY RIFLE.



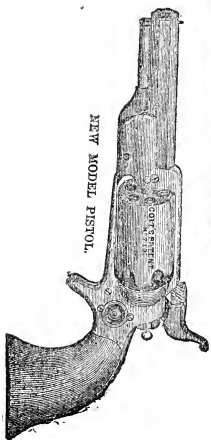
REVOLVING PISTOL WITH CARBINE
BRECH ATTACHED.

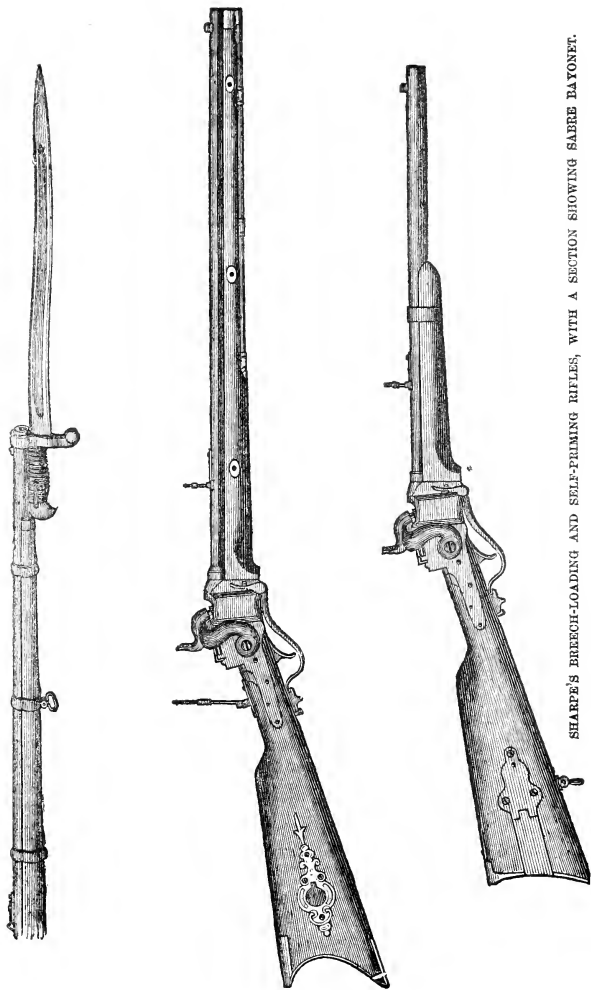


HOLSTER PISTOL.



NEW MODEL PISTOL.

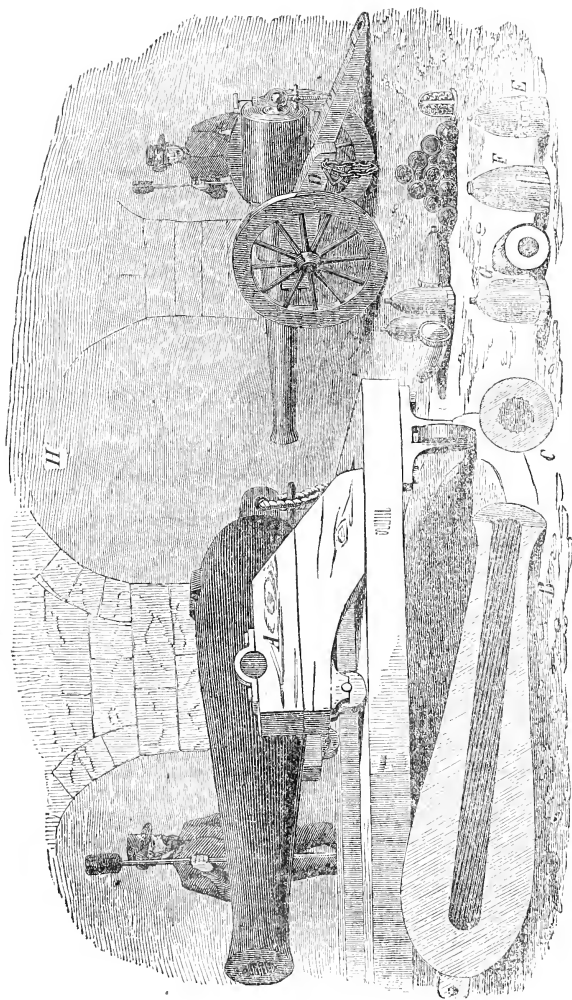




SHARPE'S BREECH-LOADING AND SELF-PRIMING RIFLES, WITH A SECTION SHOWING SABRE BAYONET.

piece opens by turning on a hinge, and the cartridge is introduced in a case of brass, which, on the explosion, packs the joint and prevents the escape of gas. The objection is the difficulty in obtaining the cartridges. Sharps' carbine is like the rifle. Maynard's has a fixed chamber with the joint closed by a metallic cartridge case. There are a great number of repeating pistols issued to the cavalry and light artillery. When the war took place the scarcity of arms called into action numbers of private armories. The imported and other breech-loading, self-priming and other weapons were altered to conform to the Springfield pattern, which are alone furnished to the infantry, with cartridges prepared for service at the armories.

The improvements in small arms were soon followed by attempts to perfect cannon, which, from being effective a long way beyond musket range, had come to be ineffective at a less distance than a practicable rifle shot. The military maxim that "he who would live long must enlist in the artillery," found itself reversed, and great efforts were made to restore the efficiency of the guns. The metal used for casting guns of large calibre is cast iron, but the strength of iron varies greatly. The metal was formerly not so well made as it is at present. The difference in tenacity is very great in proportion to the uniformity with which the metal cools, and to effect this object great efforts have been made. The first guns ever made were of wrought bars cased in hoops of the same metal; one of these burst in 1460, and killed James II., of Scotland. In 1845, Commodore Stockton constructed a similar piece, which exploded, killing Mr. Upshur and Mr. Gilmer, members of the cabinet under Mr. Tyler, and wounding some others. The next step in making guns was to cast them hollow. The great difficulty in this was to cause them to cool uniformly, and it was abandoned in 1729, for the process of casting solid and boring out the piece. This was continued down to a recent date, when Captain T. J.



A. Dahlgren Gun.
 B. Longitudinal section of do. showing the grooved chamber.
 C. Transverse section of do.
 D. Parrott Gun.
 E. Hotchkiss Projectile.
 F. Sawyer Projectile.
 G. James Projectile.
 H. Casemate, arch of solid masonry for the protection of the gunners.

Rodman, of the United States ordnance corps, conceived the design of cooling the piece cast hollow by the introduction of a current of water flowing through the core, thus securing a uniform texture and maximum strength throughout. In proof of the efficiency of this mode a pair of 8-inch guns was made in the best manner, one by the old method bored out, which burst at the seventy-third discharge, and the other by the new method, which did not fail with 1,500 discharges. A number of experiments were made with similar results. The gun known as the Union or Rodman gun is a 15-inch columbiad, and was cast in the new manner, under the direction of Captain Rodman, and hence its name. This gun is at Fortress Monroe, where it is worked by one sergeant and six negroes. Its length is 190 inches; length of bore, 165 inches; thickness of metal at junction of bore with chamber, 25 inches; thickness at muzzle, 5 inches; diameter of shell, 14.9 inches; weight of shell, 320 pounds; charge, 17 pounds; solid shot weighs 450 pounds.

COLUMBIADS were invented by Colonel Bomford, United States army. Their peculiarity is that they uniformly decrease in size from the breech to the muzzle, as in the case of the Rodman gun. They are used for throwing solid shot or shells. They were originally chambered, but are now made with a uniform bore, ordinarily of eight-inch and ten-inch. Larger guns have been made for trial, one of twelve-inch and one of fifteen-inch. The latter is the Rodman gun. A small difference in the size of the bore of a gun, or, in other words, the diameter of the shot, makes a very great difference in the weight of the shot. The rule is, that the weight increases in proportion to the cube of the diameter. Thus, a shot eight inches in diameter, supposing a perfect sphere, will weigh sixty-nine pounds; a ten-inch shot will weigh 136 pounds; a twenty-inch shot would weigh 1,090 pounds. Hence, a little increase in diameter causes an immense difference in the size of the gun:

PARROTT GUN. This is named after its maker, Mr. Parrott, of West Point, who is, however, not the inventor. The piece is cast, and then upon the breech is driven a wrought-iron ring of four-inch thickness. This is put over hot, and shrinks upon the gun. By this device, the gun which is rifled, will weigh less than a columbiad or Dahlgren of the same calibre, in the proportion of 1,100 to 1,500 pounds. This for a field-piece is of great advantage.

The **DAHLGREN GUN** was invented by Captain Dahlgren, of the navy. Its peculiarity is that the thickness of the gun diminishes very rapidly from the breech, by which means a larger calibre weighs much less than by the old plan.

WHITWORTH GUN. A number of batteries of these guns were received from England when the war broke out. They are loaded at the breech, but instead of being rifled the bore is hexagonal, with a twist of one turn to five feet, to give the effect of rifling. They are made of wrought iron melted and cast in moulds. The projectile is hexagonal, made to fit the bore. It is of cast iron, but sometimes of wrought iron. The range of the gun is 4,000 yards.

STEEL CANNON were introduced in the United States in 1861. Their chief advantage is their comparative lightness for field service, requiring a less power of draft, and being more manageable in heavy roads. They are forged under heavy steam hammers from puddled steel made especially for this purpose. The six-pounders are of 2.6 inches bore, and the twelve-pounders, 3.67 inches bore. The latter weigh 1,200 pounds each. They are rifled, one turn in twelve feet. A number of these guns are used by the Sickles brigade, about thirty were in the Burnside expedition, and some were used in the Western campaigns.

MORTARS are used for siege and naval service. The heavy siege mortar weighs 17,500 pounds, is fifty-three inches long, and thirteen inches depth of chamber. The shell weighs 200 pounds, and with twenty pounds of powder may be thrown 4,325 yards.

HOWITZERS are short guns, or mortars chambered and mounted on gun carriages. They are used for throwing shells. The difference between a mortar and a howitzer is that the trunnions of the former are at the end, and of the latter in the middle for mounting on a carriage.

The United States "Ordnance Manual" gives the following kinds and calibres of guns used in the United States armies :

	Calibre.	Material.	Weight.	Weight of shot.	Weight of shells.
Field guns.....	6 lbs.	bronze	884	6.10	
" ".....	12 "	"	1,757	12.25	
Siege ".....	12 "	iron	3,590	12.25	8.34
" ".....	18 "	"	4,913	18.30	13.45
" ".....	24 "	"	5,790	24.30	16.80
Sea-coast guns.....	32 "	"	7,200	32.40	22.50
" ".....	42 "	"	8,465	42.50	31.30
Mountain howitzer..	12 "	bronze	220	12.25	
Field ".....	12 "	"	788	12.25	
" ".....	24 "	"	1,318	24.30	
" ".....	32 "	"	1,920	32.40	
Siege ".....	8 inch.	iron	2,614	65.00	
" ".....	24 lbs.	"	1,476	24.30	
Seacoast ".....	8 inch.	"	5,740	65.00	49.75
" ".....	10 "	"	9,500	127.50	101.67
Columbiads.....	8 "	"	9,240	65.00	49.75
" ".....	10 "	"	15,400	127.50	101.67
Mortars, light.....	8 "	"	930		44.12
" ".....	10 "	"	1,852		88.42
" heavy.....	10 "	"	5,775		197.30

The greatest change in weapons is in the projectile. That for the Parrott gun is a cast-iron body, around the base of which is fitted loosely a brass ring, which, by the explosion, is forced into the grooves, causing the projectile to follow the curves of the piece. The Whitworth gun has a hexagonal projectile, which follows the turn of the barrel into which it is fitted. The three-pounder with eight ounces of powder, has been known to throw five and a half miles. This range is obtained by the great twist given to the grooves, equal to one turn in five feet, or one and a half turns in the length of the gun. The Hotchkiss projectile is composed of three pieces, of which the conical head and base

made of cast iron, between which there is lead. The effect of the explosion is to cause the lead to bulge out, and thus effectually take the grooves of the gun. The SAWYER projectile is a conical shell of cast iron with a brass cap screwed into the apex of the cone. By this the powder, fourteen ounces for a twelve-pound shell, is introduced. The percussion powder is under the brass cap. This shell has a coating of lead to take the grooves. The SCHENKL projectile is a favorite with the Massachusetts troops. This is a cast-iron bullet, in length about three times the diameter. Its posterior portion has a covering of papier-maché which takes the grooves. The JAMES projectile is a cast-iron cylinder with a conical head. It may be used either solid or as a shell. The middle of the cylinder is about three-fourths of an inch in diameter less than the two ends. In this portion there are openings to a cavity extending to the rear. The cylinder being enclosed in tin, with a canvas covering, hot lead poured into the cavity fills in under the tin. On the discharge the lead, being driven forward, bulges out the tin, and forces the canvas into the grooves. Owing to the disposition of the tin covering to peel off, the projectiles are not to be depended upon.

Ordinary shells are hollow shot of cast iron, filled with bullets and sulphur, and are fired by a fuse formed by boring into the filling, and charging the cavity thus formed with mealed powder of peculiar composition, which is covered with a leaden or soft metal cap; when it is to be discharged a portion of this cap is removed, so as to form a greater or smaller aperture to the fuse according to the distance it is to be thrown before exploding. These fuses are graduated for five, ten, fifteen, or twenty seconds. The spherical-case shot is a thin shell of cast iron, containing powder and musket-balls embedded in melted sulphur. Its shape is round for mortars and smooth bores, but elongated for rifle guns. It is intended to burst fifty to one hundred and fifty yards in front of, and fifteen to twenty feet above the object fired at. The time-fuse is a hollow cylin-

der of paper, wood, or metal, enclosing a composition graduated to the required time. The fuse is fired by the explosion of the piece.

A field battery consists of six pieces, viz., four 12-pounders and two 24-pounders, or two 12-pounder howitzers; or four 6-pounders and two 24-pounders.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Situation.—Army of the Potomac.—General McClellan.—Reorganization.—The Advance.—The Retreat of the Enemy.—The Peninsular Campaign.—Yorktown.—Its Strength.—Means of Approach.—M'Dowell's Corps Withdrawn.—General Wool's Force Withdrawn.—The York River.—Gloucester.—The Loss of his Position.

THE year 1861 had closed with very gloomy prospects for the Federal arms. On all sides of the vast field of action, our armies had suffered reverses, and the enemy had triumphed in many a hard fought field. If there was a shade of disappointment on the public mind, there was no sign of despondency, nor any diminution of determination. A new turn of the wheel, however, ushered in the young year, and fortune once more favored the National cause. From every point of the compass came notes of success, and the advancing Union troops were victorious in every conflict. Although the winter was unusually stormy, sixty days of vigorous effort sufficed to work an entire change in the aspect of affairs, and impress the prestige of victory upon the Union flag.

On the 1st of January, General Price was in triumphal possession of Southwestern Missouri, by the close of February he was a fugitive in Western Arkansas, with his army greatly reduced by capture and demoralization, and Missouri was free from armed Confederates.

On the 1st of January the enemy held a large portion of Kentucky, and confronted the Union forces on a line drawn from Columbus, on the western border of the state, through Bowling Green to the Virginia line on the east. Zollicoffer and Crittenden commanded Cumberland Gap, the gateway into Virginia and Tennessee, Johnston and Buckner at Bowling Green covered Nashville and threatened Louisville. Bishop Polk, at Columbus, observed St. Louis and Cairo, and commanded the Mississippi. These threatening clouds were soon dispersed when the Union

troops resumed action. Within sixty days Kentucky was clear of Confederates. The immense line of hostile troops had been swept back into Alabama and Mississippi. Every strong place had been taken, the armies dispersed, Zollicoffer dead, Buckner captive, Floyd under arrest, Nashville occupied, and Union authority once more supreme in Tennessee and Kentucky.

On the 1st of January there still languished in Richmond some three thousand Union prisoners, the captives of Bull Run and other disastrous fields. At the close of February they had been nearly all exchanged for Confederate prisoners, and a surplus of some ten thousand captives, including field and regimental officers, remained in Federal hands.

On the 1st of January, Burnside's Expedition still lingered in Northern harbors, while the enemy, warned by spies of its destination, were preparing to receive it. Within sixty days it had crowned its triumph at Roanoke Island, and loyal North Carolinians were believed to have rallied once more around the stars and stripes.

All these successes had aroused public enthusiasm, and strengthened confidence in a speedy peace, as a consequence of the advance of the grand army of the Potomac, which had during many months been in the hands of General McClellan, gathering force and consistency to deliver the final blow at rebellion.

That immense army had been the chief result of the northern efforts and resources, and it was regarded in the public mind in some degree, as had been the old guard in the imperial armies of France. Its advance was looked for as the crowning movement.

When the army of the Potomac, 55,000 strong, had in July, 1861, been compelled to fall back upon Washington in a state of complete disorganization, the disordered masses without leaders were incapable of advance and powerless for defence. The administration dreading an assault upon the capital, summoned the victor of Laurel Mountain to rally the scattered columns and reform the broken corps. The undertaking was a gigantic one, demanding the utmost abilities of an experienced commander. The young chief was comparatively an untried man, but his reputation, although resting only on the campaign of Western Virginia, had the prestige of success, which

promised to retrieve the disasters of the Potomac. General McClellan* had been prominent among the graduates

* George B. McClellan is the son of an eminent physician of Philadelphia, and was born in that city on the 3d of December, 1826. He entered the West Point Academy in 1842, graduated at the head of his class in 1846, and was immediately called into active service as second lieutenant of a company of sappers and miners, Captain Swift, just organized by a special act of Congress; of this company the first lieutenant was Gustavus W. Smith, late street commissioner of New York, and now a major-general in the Confederate army. The sappers and miners, seventy-one strong, sailed from West Point on the 24th of September, to take part in the Mexican war, with orders to report to General Taylor. At Vera Cruz they took an active part in the siege under General Worth. Captain Swift soon died. After the surrender, they marched to Cerro Gordo, entered Jalapa with the advance of General Twiggs' division, and Puebla with the advance of General Worth's division. Thence they passed through Chalons, and arrived at San Antonio on the 18th, having opened the roads the whole way. On the 19th, the company was ordered to head Pillow's column at San Augustine, and henceforth its labors were doubled. At the battle of Contreras, Lieutenant McClellan managed the howitzers of Magruder's battery with great ability. On the 20th of August, he distinguished himself at the battle of Churubusco, for which he was promoted to a first lieutenancy. At Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, his gallantry secured him the rank of captain by brevet. The following year, 1848, he assumed command of the sappers and miners, a position which he held until 1851. It was during this period that Captain McClellan translated his text-book for the army, and introduced the bayonet exercise into the United States. In the fall of 1851 he was appointed to superintend the building of Fort Delaware. In the spring of 1852 he joined Major Marcy in an expedition to explore Red River; and was afterwards ordered to Texas as general engineer on the staff of General Persifer F. Smith, and surveyed the rivers and harbors of that state. Next year he aided in surveying the route for a Pacific railroad, and for his work received the unqualified approval of Jeff. Davis, then secretary of war. Shortly after, McClellan was sent on secret service to the West Indies, connected with the Cuban expedition, and on his return received a commission in the U. S. cavalry. The war in the Crimea being at that time an absorbing subject of interest, the U. S. Government sent a commission of three officers there to watch its progress and perfect themselves in the art; of these officers McClellan was one, and the ability of his report when he returned, added much to his reputation. In 1857 he resigned his place in the army, and became vice-president and engineer of the Illinois Central railroad. Three years later we find him general superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad, and he was thus engaged when civil war came upon us. Ohio immediately made him major-general of the State forces, and shortly after Pennsylvania offered him a similar position. He organized the militia of Ohio quickly and thoroughly. On the 14th of May the Federal Government tendered him the position of major-general in the U. S. army, and assigned him to the Department of Ohio. Then followed his brilliant campaign in Western Virginia. After the disaster at Bull Run he was called to Washington to command the army of the Potomac. On the 31st of October, General Scott resigned, and General McClellan was appointed his successor, as general-in-chief of the armies of the United States. He organized the army with great ability, and when the advance took place, March 8th, he was restricted to the command of the army of the Potomac, after the defeat of the

of a distinguished class at the military academy, had earned promotion under Scott in Mexico, and had enjoyed a commission of trust from the government in relation to Cuba. He was fond of his profession, and had the advantage of youth on his side. In civil life he had earned reputation as an engineer of good administrative abilities; was familiar with the Southern country, where his literary talents had attracted attention. Although he was born in Pennsylvania, he had been appointed from Ohio, where he was known as a Democrat, although not an active politician. At the breaking out of the war he held the position of general superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, having previously served on the Illinois Central Railroad, with fair reputation. Such was the man who, by the force of circumstances, had been called to the head of the army at a time of great national peril. Although his enemies, whom his elevation created and irritated, insinuated that he was luxurious, inert, and incapable, the Government and the public reposed in him the most unbounded confidence, and the whole resources of the nation were unreservedly placed at his disposal. The extent of these resources may be estimated from the official reports of the departments. The secretary of war had reported the army at 230,000 men under arms; in his report of December, the figures were raised to 730,000 in the pay of the Government. In other words, 500,000 men had, in six months, freely and eagerly rallied around the national standard. In July, 1861, the national debt was reported to Congress by the secretary, at \$90,000,000. In December, the amount had swollen to \$250,000,000, showing that \$160,000,000 had been freely poured into the national treasury to concentrate, arm, equip, and feed the half million of men who were crowding into the ranks of the army under McClellan. In seven months that had elapsed from his assumption of the command, to the close of February, he had been perfect "master of the situation." There had been no discord in the adulation show-

army on the Peninsula. His army returned to Washington on August 14th, when he was restored to the command and conducted the campaign in Maryland, gaining the battle of Antietam, which caused the retreat of the Confederates. He remained in command until November 10th, when, having commenced a new campaign, he was relieved of his command and succeeded by Burnside.

ered upon him publicly and privately. The people and the public press willingly gave him credit for all that they hoped he would accomplish, and he enjoyed, while buckling on his armor, honor rarely attained, even by him who takes it off. Every element of success was at his command. There were gathered around him crowds of eager volunteers of all nations, and of the best physical development; unbounded supplies; the largest possible transport, railway conveyance, telegraphic communication, and uncontrolled direction. Seven months had been spent in the organization and combination of these elements of success. As the recruits successively arrived, they were organized and employed upon the extensive works that continued to rise around the national capital, thus inuring them to the hardships of the camp, while they were learning the duties of a soldier; every means was employed to give the troops, which, from the colonels down, although full of bravery and devotion, were entirely destitute of military knowledge, some degree of consistency. To this end the regiments were four to the brigade, of which three formed a division. To each division there were four batteries of eight pieces each; of these three were volunteers and one regular; the latter was the model for the others, and its head commanded all. As the army increased in strength, it improved in military knowledge and efficiency. Frequent parades and reviews were held by the young general, and at each of these might be observed some improvement in the appearance of the men, the efficiency of their arms, in the steadiness of their line, and in the precision of the evolutions. The great merit of General McClellan as an organizer, was thus conspicuous to all who had witnessed the condition of the army in July, and compared it with the vast array that had been formed into an army inspired with confidence and instilled with the principles of soldierly life and discipline. Seven months of time and large sums of money had indeed been expended in producing these results, and the confidence of the public had become confirmed, even if some signs of impatience were indeed manifest.

There had been two parties in relation to the expediency of prompt movement. One claimed that an immediate and bold movement upon Richmond, with the resources at hand, redeeming Bull Run, would bring the war to a close.

The other argued that the army must be formed to avoid disaster, and that the effects of the blockade and of the descent of the Mississippi river must be manifest before finishing the blow upon the centre at Richmond. The latter course prevailed, perhaps through the influence of weather and the force of circumstances.

The winter finally drew to a close, and the roads were become once more practicable for artillery and wagons. The right and left wings of the great national advance had successfully driven the enemy before them, and the moment had arrived to crush the head of rebellion which had so long presented itself before the national capital, holding the old battle-ground of Manassas, where the Union arms had suffered such disgrace, and continued apparently to besiege the Government. The people were fully convinced that a new battle of Bull Run would result in such signal discomfiture of the enemy as would not only obliterate the former defeat, but open the way to Richmond. The political situation at home required a victory to sustain the attitude of the Government, and the aspect of our foreign relations required some military progress to sustain the position of the diplomats. In a military view, it was of the utmost importance that the enemy should be crushed at Manassas, because the difficulties of following an unbroken army beyond that point were almost insuperable. The country had been devastated, the railways torn up, and the army could be supplied only by slow-moving wagons, bringing daily supplies from Washington. The army could make no considerable advances until railway communications should be completed and continued to its front. On the 8th of March, the President issued the following order:

THE PRESIDENT'S GENERAL WAR ORDER—NO. 2.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *March 8, 1862.*

"*Ordered*, 1. That the major-general commanding the Army of the Potomac proceed forthwith to organize that part of said army destined to enter upon active operations, including the reserve, but excluding the troops to be left in the fortifications about Washington, into four army corps, to be commanded according to seniority of rank, as follows:

"First corps to consist of four divisions, and to be commanded by Major-General I. McDowell.

"Second corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. V. Sumner.

"Third corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General S. P. Heintzelman.

"Fourth corps to consist of three divisions, and to be commanded by Brigadier-General E. L. Keyes.

"2. That the division now commanded by the officers above assigned to the commands of corps shall be embraced in and form part of their respective corps.

"3. The forces left for the defence of Washington will be placed in command of Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth, who shall also be military governor of the District of Columbia.

"4. That this order be executed with such promptness and dispatch as not to delay the commencement of the operations already directed to be undertaken by the Army of the Potomac.

"5. A fifth army corps, to be commanded by Major-General N. P. Banks, will be formed from his own and General Shields' (late General Lander's) division.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The position of the enemy had not been much varied from the day of the battle of Bull Run to that of the advance of the Union Army. His strength had varied from 40,000 to 80,000 men, and these held the positions of Manassas and Centreville, which were connected by a temporary railroad laid on the surface of the ground, without grading. The works at Manassas were skilfully laid out, but had been constructed in a superficial manner, being simply dirt, trenches and sand forts. The embrasures were intended for field guns, but were destitute of floors. Five of these commanded the road to Centreville, extending on a line one and a-half miles, and connected by rifle-pits deep enough to allow artillery to move behind them. There were substantial huts constructed for winter quarters, sufficient to accommodate 40,000 men. The position of Centreville was naturally much stronger than that of Manassas. The heights command for many miles round the whole country, which is clear of timber and every thing that might afford shelter to an advancing army. The works were more numerous and better built than those at Manassas. They consisted of eight or nine forts of a capacity of from four to twelve guns each, extending in a line and surrounded by rifle-pits. There were never any guns regularly mounted. The embrasures were intended for field pieces, and being connected by roadways, each fort could be supplied with guns from the others, as occasion might require; when the place was evacuated, wooden guns were placed in the embrasures. Much

scientific skill was displayed in the design, and considerable labor in the execution. Altogether they formed a complete system of defence, commanding the approaches for many miles round. In the month of February, the Generals, Johnston, Smith, and Stuart, held Centreville, having parties thrown forward to Fairfax and Leesburg, and all were connected by telegraph with Manassas, which drew its supplies by two lines of railroads, one leading south to Gordonsville, and the other leading to the rich valley of the Shenandoah, held by General Jackson, whose main force at Winchester, with his advance at Martinsburg, held Banks in check, and covered the railroad to Manassas. On the other hand, General T. H. Holmes commanded the Potomac batteries, and General Walker, with a considerable force, held Fredericksburg. The whole force was estimated at 80,000 men, including some Virginia regiments, whose term of service was about to expire, but who had re-enlisted. The prestige at Bull Run, with the bold attitude of the enemy, whose skirmishers continually menaced the outposts of McClellan, together with the secrecy he was enabled to preserve, had succeeded in disguising his real strength, which was in some degree favored by the impractical nature of the roads, and these seemed to be his chief dependence against a flank movement.

This being the position of affairs, a movement on his flank had been determined upon, pursuant to the President's order of March 8th. In the mean time, the course of events had changed the programme. On the 26th of February, General Banks with his force intended to operate in the Valley, crossed the Potomac and occupied Martinsburg on the 3d of March, the enemy retiring before him. General Hamilton, of Banks' corps, then pushed forward his advance to occupy Bunker Hill on the 5th, Smithfield, a town seven miles north-west of Charlestown, taken possession of, and Ashley's Confederate cavalry were driven in upon Berryville. In the mean time, Colonel Geary, advancing from Edwards Ferry in the direction of Leesburg, repulsed a brigade of infantry at Lovettsville on the 3d, and entered Leesburg on the 8th, at the same time the Federal advance having been confided to General McDowell as an act of justice to the commander of the former movement, that general's advance guard, under

the gallant Kearney, approached Centreville on the 8th without encountering the enemy. The President's order appeared on the same day, the 8th; on the following day, which was Sunday, a regiment of Porter's division moved forward and occupied Vienna without opposition; and rumors multiplied at General Smith's head-quarters that the enemy was falling back from his advanced positions. It was, however, taken for granted that he was merely concentrating for the expected attack. There was no positive information as to the movements of the enemy; but amidst the conjectures, the idea of his retreat seemed not to be entertained. In the evening, however, positive information reached head-quarters that the enemy had retired in succession from Fairfax Court-House, Centreville, and Manassas, destroying their camps and the bridges in their rear as they departed. The news was felt to be that of a disaster. Washington was immediately in commotion. The telegraph from the head-quarters of General McClellan conveyed prompt orders to each division for immediate advance. Generals left at once to assume their commands, and before dawn a long line of wagons, officers, orderlies, cavalry and infantry began, amid a driving storm, to file across the Potomac to overtake the divisions already in motion. McDowell's advance guard, composed of the second and third New Jersey, with a squad of Lincoln cavalry under General Philip Kearney,* surprised a body

* Philip Kearney, who was killed at Chantilly, September 1, 1862, was born in New York city, June 2, 1815. He was therefore forty-seven when he died. On the 8th of March, 1837, he received a commission as 2d lieutenant in his uncle's (Colonel S. W. Kearney's) regiment, the 1st U. S. Dragoons. He visited Africa, and became attached to the *Chasseurs d'Afrique*. He gained distinction under Marshal Vallee, by his daring during the African campaign of 1838-'40. During his absence, he was promoted to 1st lieutenant, July, 1839, and on his return was appointed aid to General Macomb, November, 1840, and to General Scott from December 1841 to April 1844. In December, 1846, he was promoted to captain, and commanded the 1st Dragoons in the Valley of Mexico. His bravery during the whole campaign gained him special praise from General Scott. He was, in August, 1848, breveted major, with rank from August 20, 1847, for gallantry, &c., at Contreras and Chnrubuseo, where he lost his left arm in a charge near San Antonio gate. He resigned October 9, 1851, after having served some time in California, and went to Europe to resume his military studies. During the Italian Campaign, in 1859, he served as volunteer aid to General Morris, and when the rebellion broke out in this country, he tendered his services. He was appointed the commander of a New Jersey brigade, with rank from May 17, 1861, and during the operations before Yorktown headed a division. Kearney's division is still known as partici-

of Confederate cavalry at Sawpits station, on the Orange and Alexandria railroad. They captured eleven and lost two men. On Monday the 10th, at noon, they entered Centreville, which had been deserted by the enemy late on the previous night. On the same day, at nearly the same hour, General McClellan and staff left Washington, and head-quarters were established at Fairfax Court-House the same night. Simultaneously Colonel Averill with the third Pennsylvania cavalry, entered Manassas on the heels of the Louisiana Tigers, who retired before the Union advance. Stuart's cavalry retired toward Strasburg, by way of the Manassas railroad to join Jackson. On the same day Banks occupied Winchester, and General Hooker sent the first Massachusetts to occupy Shippins Port and Evansport, and the fifth New Jersey, Colonel Mott, to occupy Cockpit Point.

The aspect of affairs had thus rapidly changed. The force of General Banks, by its advance threatening the Confederate communications with the valley, had caused all its defences to fall, since the position of Manassas was no longer tenable. All the batteries on the Potomac were abandoned, and the enemy fell back to Gordonsville. This point has as much strategic importance as Manassas, since it commands the passage which connects the great and fertile valley of the Shenandoah by railroad with Richmond. The loss of that point would involve the cutting off a large portion of the supplies for Eastern Virginia. It is also the point of intersection of the most important railroad connections south and south-west. The region round Gordonsville is thickly wooded and broken, and perhaps better calculated for defence than that around Manassas. To this point the enemy fell back, having his advance on the line of the Rapidan, twelve miles in front. The Rapidan and North Anna rivers unite and form the Pamunkey in the neighborhood of Hanover Court-House, in a country much broken, and admirably calculated for defence. In this neighborhood also the Central Virginia Railroad forms a junction with the Frederick and Potomac Railroad, in a position of great strength. It was on this line from Gor-

pants in nearly all the battles of the Peninsula, and in the disastrous campaign under Pope, during the last battle of which the brave Kearney fell to rise no more. He was made a major-general on the 4th of July, 1862, but did not enjoy his rank two months.

donsville that the Confederates had their new line of defence, and on the 10th of March General Lee was nominated to command in Virginia, to reorganize a new system of defence. The Union troops were now in the field in motion, but the retreat of the enemy had produced grave difficulties. The troops at Manassas were compelled to retrograde in order to be fed, and this movement caused complaint. Without first constructing several parallel lines of railroad to keep up the army supplies, it was impossible for the troops to advance, and equally so to return to Washington. The circumstances under which the President's order of the 8th was issued were changed, but on the 13th General McClellan issued the following, in accordance with it.

"GENERAL ORDERS, No. 101.

"ARMY CORPS HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF POTOMAC,
"FAIRFAX COURT-HOUSE, VIRGINIA, *March 13th, 1862.*

"In compliance with the President's War Order No. 2, of March 8, 1862, the active portion of the Army of the Potomac is formed into Army Corps as follows:—

"First Corps—Major-General Irwin McDowell; to consist at present of the divisions of Generals Franklin, McCall and King,

"Second Corps—Brigadier-General E. V. Sumner; the divisions of Generals Richardson, Blenker and Sedgwick.

"Third Corps—Brigadier-General S. P. Heintzelman; divisions of Generals F. J. Parker, Hooker and Hamilton.

"Fourth Corps—Brigadier-General E. D. Keyes; divisions of Generals Couch, Smith and Casey.

"Fifth Corps—Major-General N. P. Banks; divisions of Generals Williams and Shields.

"The cavalry regiments attached to divisions will for the present remain so. Subsequent orders will provide for these regiments, as well as for the reserve artillery, regular infantry, and regular cavalry.

"Arrangements will be made to unite the divisions of each army corps as promptly as possible. The commanders of divisions will at once report in person, or where that is impossible, by letter, to the commander of their army corps.

"By command of Major-General McCLELLAN.

"A. V. COLBURN, *Assistant Adjutant General.*"

The President on the 11th issued the following order, confining the command of McClellan to the Army of the Potomac, and creating two new departments.

"PRESIDENT'S WAR ORDER, No. 3.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,

"WASHINGTON, *March 11th, 1862.*

"Major-General McClellan having personally taken the field at the head of the army of the Potomac, until otherwise ordered, he is re-

lieved from the command of the other military departments, he retaining command of the Department of the Potomac.

"*Ordered*, further, that the two departments now under the respective commands of Generals Halleck and Hunter, together with so much of that under General Buell as lies west of a north and south line indefinitely drawn through Knoxville, Tennessee, be consolidated and designated the department of the Mississippi, and that until otherwise ordered, Major-General Halleck have command of said department.

"*Ordered*, also, that the country west of the department of the Potomac, and east of the department of the Mississippi be a military department, to be called the Mountain Department, and that the same be commanded by Major-General Fremont; that all the commanders of departments after the receipt of this order by them, respectively report severally and directly to the secretary of war, and that prompt, full, and frequent reports will be expected of all and each of them.

"(Signed,)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

The plan of the campaign was now entirely changed. Instead of moving directly upon the enemy, a new combination was required. The fact that the retreat of the enemy had foiled the plan of the general was not to be concealed, and under ordinary circumstances it would have been discreditable to the commander to have permitted it; but in the service, the duty of ascertaining the position and movements of the enemy devolves upon the topographical engineers, and this corps was without experience. The fact, nevertheless, compelled a new combination, and in view of this necessity the following order of the day was issued March 15th.

"**SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC:—**

"For a long time I have kept you inactive, but not without a purpose. You were to be disciplined, armed and instructed. The formidable artillery you now have had to be created. Other armies were to move and accomplish certain results. I have held you back that you might give the death blow to the rebellion that has distracted our once happy country.

"The patience you have shown, and your confidence in your general, are worth a dozen victories. These preliminary results are now accomplished. I feel that the patient labors of many months have produced their fruit. The Army of the Potomac is now a real army, magnificent in material, admirable in discipline and instruction, and excellently equipped and armed. Your commanders are all that I could wish. The moment for action has arrived, and I know that I can trust in you to save our country. As I ride through your ranks I see in your faces the sure prestige of victory. I feel that you will do whatever I ask of you. The period of inaction has passed. I will bring you now face to face with the rebels, and only pray that God may defend the right.

"In whatever direction you may move, however strange my actions may appear to you, ever bear in mind that my fate is linked with yours, and that all I do is to bring you where I know you wish to be—on the decisive battle-field. It is my business to place you there. I am to watch over you as a parent over his children, and you know that your general loves you from the depths of his heart. It shall be my care—it has ever been—to gain success with the least possible loss. But I know that, if it is necessary, you will willingly follow me to our graves for our righteous cause.

"God smiles upon us! Victory attends us! Yet I would not have you think that our aim is to be obtained without a manly struggle. I will not disguise it from you that you have brave foes to encounter—foemen well worthy of the steel that you will use so well. I shall demand of you great, heroic exertions, rapid and long marches, desperate combats, privations, perhaps. We will share all these together, and when this sad war is over we will return to our homes, and feel that we can ask no higher honor than the proud consciousness that we belonged to the Army of the Potomac.

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN,
"Major-General Commanding."

The effective strength of the army was now 120,000 men, composed of eleven divisions, of from eight to ten thousand men each, 6,000 regular infantry and cavalry, and 350 pieces of artillery. Of these, one division (Blenker's) was detached to form part of the command of General Fremont in the mountains of Virginia.

The great successes that had attended the Union arms at the west, had, in view of the supposed great superiority of the army of the Potomac over the forces of the enemy, produced great confidence in and about Washington. So much so, that Senator Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the military committee, had in February proposed the discontinuance of volunteering, and the reduction of the army. In this view also it had been decided to take a portion of the troops to form a command for General Fremont, in the mountains of Virginia, that he might be employed. The retreat of the enemy from Manassas had involved an entire change in the campaign. It was held by General McClellan, that the mode of reaching Richmond, was to descend the Potomac, land at Fortress Monroe, and advance up the Peninsula, accompanied by gunboats on each side. By the James river, it was understood the gunboats could force their way quite up to Richmond. When General McClellan advanced up the Peninsula, McDowell's corps was also to descend the Potomac to Severn, there to land, and taking Gloucester,

one of the defences of York river, in reverse, proceed up the north bank of that river, and fall upon the rear of the enemy, retiring up the Peninsula before McClellan's advance. The other plan was to proceed against Richmond by the direct route, *via* Manassas and Fredericksburg, and this was the plan approved by the President, for the reason that it kept the Union army between Washington and the enemy. General McClellan's plan was accepted, however, on the condition that a sufficient force should be left to cover Washington. It was arranged, that General Wadsworth should remain in command of the troops in Washington, and that General Banks' corps should remain at Manassas.

On the 15th of March, General James S. Wadsworth, of New York, assumed command as military governor of the District of Columbia and of the defences of Washington. General McClellan issued the following orders :

GENERAL M'CLELLAN'S ORDERS TO GENERAL WADSWORTH.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
March 16, 1862.

"Brigadier-General JAMES S. WADSWORTH, Military Governor of the District of Columbia :

"SIR:—The command to which you have been assigned, by instruction of the President, as Military Governor of the District of Columbia, embraces the geographical limits of the District, and will also include the city of Alexandria, the defensive works south of the Potomac, from the Occoquan to Difficult Creek, and the part of Fort Washington. I enclose a list of the works and defences embraced in these limits. General Banks will command at Manassas Junction, with the divisions of Williams and Shields, composing the Fifth Army Corps, but you should, nevertheless, exercise vigilance in your front, carefully guard the approaches in that quarter, and maintain the duties of advanced guards. You will use the same precautions on either flank. All troops not actually needed for the police of Washington and Georgetown, for the garrisons north of the Potomac, and for other indicated special duties, should be removed to the south side of the river. In the centre of your front you should post the main body of your troops, in proper proportions, at suitable distances toward your right and left flanks. Careful patrols will be made to thoroughly scour the country in front from right to left.

"It is especially enjoined upon you to maintain the forts and their armaments in the best possible order, to look carefully after the instruction and discipline of their garrisons, as well as all other troops under your command, and by frequent and rigid inspection to insure the attainment of these ends.

"The care of the railways, canals, dépôts, bridges and ferries within the above named limits will devolve upon you, and you are to insure their security and provide for their protection by every means in your power. You will also protect the dépôts of the public stores and the transit of the stores to the troops in actual service.

"By means of patrols you will thoroughly scour the neighboring country south of the eastern branch, and also on your right, and you will use every possible precaution to intercept mails, goods and persons passing unauthorized to the enemy's lines.

"The necessity of maintaining good order within your limits, and especially in the capital of the nation, cannot be too strongly enforced. You will forward and facilitate the movement of all troops destined for the active part of the Army of the Potomac, and especially the transit of detachments to their proper regiments and corps.

"The charge of all new troops arriving in Washington, and of all troops temporarily there, will devolve upon you. You will form them into provisional brigades, promote their instruction and discipline, and facilitate their equipment. Report all arrivals of troops, their strength, composition and equipment by every opportunity. Besides the regular report and returns which you will be required to render to the adjutant-general of the army, you will make to these headquarters a consolidated morning report of your command every Sunday morning, and a monthly return on the first day of each month.

"The foregoing instructions are communicated by command of Major-General McClellan.

"Very respectfully your obedient servant,

"_____, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

The following orders were issued to General Banks, in view of his remaining at Manassas:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
March 16, 1862.

"To Major General N. P. BANKS, Commanding Fifth Corps Army of the Potomac:

"Sir:—You will post your command in the vicinity of Manassas, intrench yourself strongly, and throw cavalry pickets well out to the front. Your first care will be the rebuilding of the railway from Washington to Manassas, and to Strasburg, in order to open your communications with the valley of the Shenandoah. As soon as the Manassas Gap Railway is in running order, intrench a brigade of infantry—say four regiments, with two batteries—at or near the point where that railway crosses the Shenandoah. Something like two regiments of cavalry should be left in that vicinity to occupy Winchester and thoroughly scour the country south of the railway and up the Shenandoah valley, as well as through Chester Gap, which might perhaps be occupied advantageously by a detachment of infantry well intrenched. Block houses should be built at all the railway bridges occupied by grand guard, Warrenton Junction, or Warrenton itself, and also some still more advanced points on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, as soon as the railroad bridges are repaired.

"Great activity should be observed by the cavalry. Besides the two regiments at Manassas, another regiment of cavalry will be at your disposal to scout towards the Occoquan, and probably a fourth towards Leesburg. To recapitulate, the most important points that should engage your attention are as follows:

"*First.*—A strong force, well intrenched, in the vicinity of Manassas, perhaps even Centreville, and another force. A brigade also well intrenched near Strasburg.

"*Second.*—Block houses at the railway bridges.

"*Third.*—Constant employment of cavalry well to the front.

"*Fourth.*—Grand guards at Warrenton, and in advance as far as the Rappahannock if possible.

"*Fifth.*—Great care to be exercised to obtain full and early information as to the enemy.

"*Sixth.*—The general object is to cover the line of the Potomac and Washington.

"The foregoing is communicated by order of Major-General McClellan.

"———, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

The army, meantime, did not remain inactive. The troops under General Augur approached Fredericksburg by way of Stafford. The advance being known to the cavalry of General Lee, who held Fredericksburg, the Confederates fell back towards the three bridges that cross the Rappahannock. On the 18th, Union troops reached Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, with some small skirmishes. The Confederate troops (twelve pieces of light artillery and two cavalry regiments, under General Field) were not in sufficient force, and evacuated the place. The common council decided to surrender. They appointed a committee, consisting of the mayor (Mr. Slaughter), three members from each board, and three citizens, to confer with our general relative to the occupation of Fredericksburg. While extremely anxious for the safety of their families and property, they took especial pains to impress upon the general that the city councils had adopted a series of resolutions declaring that Fredericksburg, since the ordinance of secession, had been unanimously in favor of secession, and was still firmly attached to the Confederate cause. The Union troops then occupied the place.

Meantime General McClellan, in maturing his plans, had changed the disposition of the forces to be left in front of Washington, and April 1st issued the following orders:

GENERAL M'CLELLAN'S ORDERS TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL THOMAS.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
STEAMER COMMODORE, *April 1, 1862.*

"To Brigadier-General L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General U. S. A.

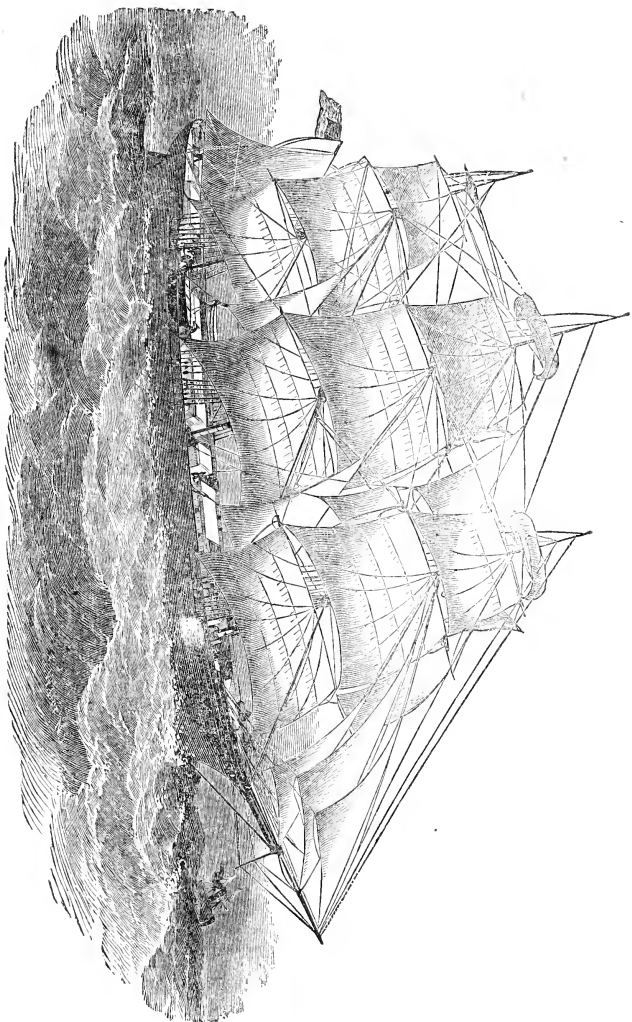
"GENERAL:—I have to request that you will lay the following communication before the Hon. Secretary of War. The approximate numbers and positions of the troops left near and in rear of the Potomac, are about as follows:

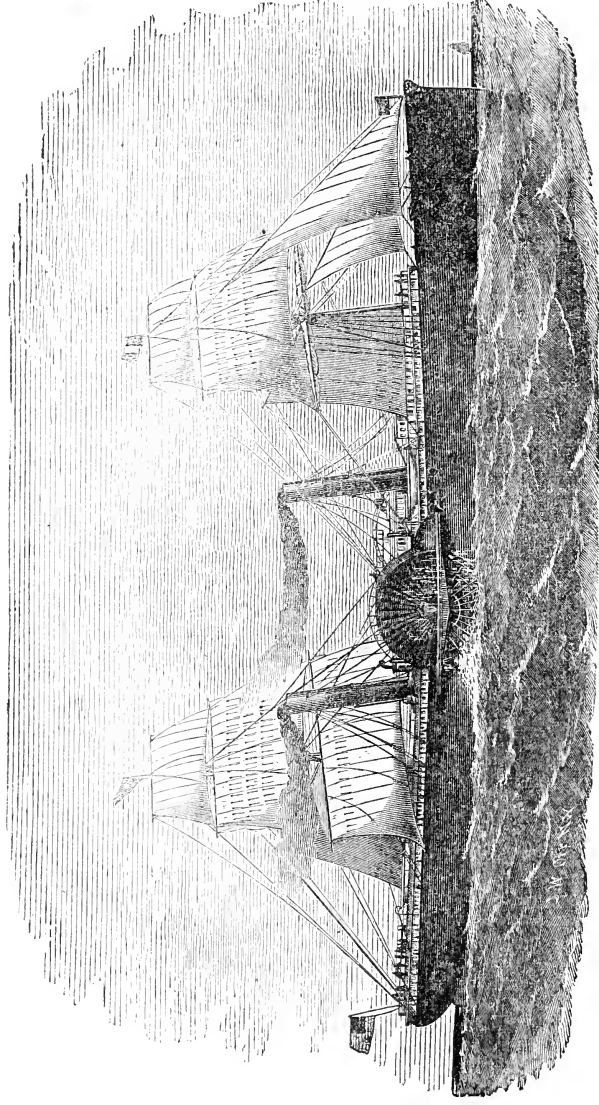
"General Dix has, after guarding the railroads under his charge, sufficient troops to give him five thousand men for the defence of Baltimore, and 1,988 available for the Eastern shore, Annapolis, &c. Fort Delaware is very well garrisoned by about four hundred men. The garrisons of the forts around Washington amount to ten thousand men, other disposable troops now with General Wadsworth being about eleven thousand four hundred men. The troops employed in guarding the various railroads in Maryland amount to some three thousand three hundred and fifty-nine men. These it is designed to relieve, being old regiments, by dismounted cavalry, and to send them forward to Manassas. General Abercrombie occupies Warrenton with a force which, including General Geary's at White Plains, and the cavalry to be at their disposal, will amount to some seven thousand seven hundred and eighty men, with twelve pieces of artillery.

"I have the honor to request that all the troops organized for service in Pennsylvania and New York, and in any of the Eastern States, may be ordered to Washington. This force I should be glad to have sent at once to Manassas—four thousand men from General Wadsworth to be ordered to Manassas. These troops, with the railroad guards above alluded to, will make up a force under the command of General Abercrombie to something like eighteen thousand six hundred and thirty-nine men. It is my design to push General Blenker from Warrenton upon Strasburg. He should remain at Strasburg long enough to allow matters to assume a definite form in that region before proceeding to his ultimate destination. The troops in the valley of the Shenandoah will thus—including Blenker's division, ten thousand and twenty-eight strong, with twenty-four pieces of artillery, Banks' Fifth Corps, which embraces the command of General Shields, nineteen thousand six hundred and eighty-seven strong, with forty-one guns, some three-thousand six hundred and fifty-three disposable cavalry, and the railroad guard, about twenty-one hundred men—amount to about thirty-five thousand four hundred and sixty-seven men.

"It is designed to relieve General Hooker by one regiment—say eight hundred and fifty men—being, with five hundred cavalry, thirteen hundred and fifty men on the lower Potomac. To recapitulate: At Warrenton there is to be seven thousand seven hundred and eighty; at Manassas, say ten thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine; in the Shenandoah Valley, thirty-five thousand four hundred and sixty-seven; on the lower Potomac, thirteen hundred and fifty—in all, fifty-five thousand four hundred and fifty-six. There would then be left for the garrisons in front of Washington and under General Wadsworth, some

SAIL TRANSPORT.





STEAM TRANSPORT.

eighteen thousand men, exclusive of the batteries under instructions. The troops organizing or ready for service in New York, I learn, will probably number more than four thousand. These should be assembled at Washington, subject to disposition where their services may be most needed. I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,
“*Major-General Commanding.*”

It was now apparent that while the largest portion should embark for Fortress Monroe, and ascend the Peninsula upon Richmond, the other portion, under General McDowell, would co-operate, while General Banks's column should proceed by the valley of the Shenandoah, and that 18,000 would man the batteries at Washington, under Wadsworth. The embarkation was conducted with as much secrecy as possible, while frequent reviews were being held by Generals McClellan and McDowell in the neighborhood of Alexandria. The troops destined for the Peninsula had arrived safely, by the close of March, at Fortress Monroe, which, with sixty miles round, was under General Wool. There had been great delay in the assembling of transports. The project had been to surprise the enemy by embarking 50,000 troops, with all their material, at once, and landing them very near Richmond. The operations of the Merrimac frustrated the landing; but sufficient transports were not supplied. They were compelled to come and go, and it required a fortnight to land the men in such a position as the presence of the Merrimac would permit, and not such a one as would have been selected. When the disembarkation was effected, the troops formed in six divisions. The cavalry, the reserve, and an immense number of wagons, immediately advanced upon Yorktown, and on the 2d of April General McClellan arrived at Fortress Monroe on board the steamer Commodore. No time was now lost, and at daylight of the 4th the Grand Army struck its tents and commenced the march to Richmond, General Keyes with three divisions by the James River road. General Heintzelman led the advance directly upon Yorktown, *via* Great Bethel, the scene of the defeat of Butler's troops. The third Pennsylvania cavalry, Colonel Averill, had the extreme front with the fourth Michigan and the fourteenth New York, with a company of Berdan's sharpshooters. About noon, the advance being about twelve

miles from Yorktown, surprised a Confederate camp, called "Camp Misery," occupied by cavalry under Major Phillips, and the second and eighth Mississippi. The forces retired, and the Union troops encamped for the night. Resuming the march at dawn of the 5th, they reached the enemy's works at Yorktown at 10 o'clock. The enemy's guns immediately opened fire, the first shell bursting over General Porter. As the troops arrived they took ground, General Porter in the centre, General Sedgwick the extreme right, Generals Hamilton and Smith the extreme left. The batteries of Griffin, third and fourth Rhode Island, and fifth Massachusetts, were got into position to reply to the enemy, and the cannonading continued until dark, with little loss on either side.

On the following day much time was employed in reconnoitring the position of the enemy, and it was found to be one of prodigious strength. Yorktown has lived in American history as the scene of the crowning exploit of Washington in the war of the Revolution. It was then that the British commander, Lord Cornwallis, with 5,000 troops, surrendered to the combinations of Washington. It has now once more sustained a siege which was unfortunate to the besieged party. The peninsula of Yorktown sets out into Chesapeake Bay, and is washed on either side by the two great rivers of Virginia, the York on the northern side and the James on the south. It runs in a north-westerly direction, is of irregular shape, and is indented with numberless fine bays. The York river is formed of the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers, which unite at West Point, about fifty miles above Yorktown. It flows in a broad deep stream, until opposite Yorktown it narrows suddenly, bringing Gloucester on the northern shore within one-fourth of a mile of Yorktown, directly opposite on the southern shore. The river then spreads out into Chesapeake Bay. Gloucester being strongly fortified, any vessels that should attempt to pass would have to encounter the powerful batteries of rifled guns on both shores, at little more than one-fourth of a mile distant. The batteries at Yorktown and Gloucester Point are erected on the very lines held by the opposing armies in the Revolution. At Yorktown the river bank is a high bluff, commanding a fine view of the river as far east as Chesapeake Bay, and as a military point, commands the oppo-

site Gloucester shore. This latter rises gradually, and offers a fine point for defensive operations.

It had, as we have said, formed part of the plan of the campaign for General McDowell, with his 35,000, to follow McClellan down the Potomac, and, by landing on Severn, north of Gloucester, storm that place, thus facilitating the passage of gunboats, ascend the river, cross the Pamunkey near West Point, and coming in between the enemy and Richmond, shut them up in the Peninsula. At this point in the operations a great change was brought about in the plan of the campaign. The President, who had insisted upon the retention of a large force to cover Washington, became dissatisfied with the dispositions made by General McClellan in his above general order of April 1 to General Thomas, and he withdrew the corps of McDowell from his command, and also detached from it the command of General Wool.

The attack upon Yorktown had commenced when McClellan, who was expecting to hear from McDowell, received a telegram that that corps had been detached from his command in order to defend Washington. At the same time, General Wool and his command at Fortress Monroe were also withdrawn from McClellan's command. The urgency with which General McClellan now telegraphed for reinforcements, drew from the President the following letter :

"WASHINGTON, *April 9, 1862.*

"To Major-General McCLELLAN :

"MY DEAR SIR:—Your despatches complaining that you are not properly sustained, while they do not offend me, pain me very much. Blenker's division was withdrawn before you left here, and you know the pressure under which I did it, and, as I thought, acquiesced in it, certainly not without reluctance. After you left, I ascertained that less than 20,000 unorganized men, without a field battery, were all you designed to be left for the defence of Washington and Manassas Junction, and part of this even was to go to General Hooker's old position. General Banks's corps, once designed for Manassas Junction, was divided and tied up on the line of the Winchester and Strasburg, and could not leave it without again exposing the Upper Potomac and the Baltimore and Ohio railroad. This presented, or would present, when McDowell and Sumner should be gone, a great temptation for the enemy to turn back from the Rappahannock and sack Washington. My explicit directions, that Washington should, by the judgment of all the commanders of corps, be left secure, had been entirely neglected. It was precisely this that drove me to detain

McDowell. I do not forget that I was satisfied with his arrangements to leave Banks at Manassas Junction. But when that arrangement was broken up, and nothing was substituted for it, of course I was not satisfied. I was constrained to substitute something for it myself. And now allow me to ask you, do you really think I could permit the line from Richmond *via* Manassas Junction to this city to be entirely open, except what resistance could be presented by less than 20,000 unorganized troops? This is a question which the country will not allow me to evade. There is a curious mystery about the number of troops now with you.

"I telegraphed you on the 6th, saying that you had over one hundred thousand men with you. I had just obtained from the Secretary of War a statement, taken, as he said, from your own returns, making 108,000 then with you and en route to you. You now say you will have but 85,000 when all those en route to you shall have reached you. How can this discrepancy of 35,000 be accounted for? As to General Wool's command, I understand that it is doing precisely what a like number of your own would have to do if that command was away. I suppose the whole force which has gone forward to you is with you by this time, and if so, I think it is the precise time for you to strike a blow. By delay the enemy will readily gain on you; that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone. And once more, let me tell you, it is indispensable to you that you strike a blow. I am powerless to help.

"This you will do me the justice to remember: I always wished not going down the bay in search of a field, instead of fighting at or near Manassas, as only shifting and not surmounting a difficulty; that we would find the same enemy and the same or equal intrenchments at either place. The country will not fail to note—is noting now—that the present hesitation to move upon an intrenched enemy is but the story of Manassas repeated.

"I beg to assure you that I have never written or spoken to you in greater kindness of feeling than now, nor with a fuller purpose to sustain you so far as in my most anxious judgment I consistently can. But you must act.

Yours, very truly,

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Franklin's division of 11,000 men was, however, sent him, but was nearly fourteen days in reaching him.

The distance between the York and James rivers at Yorktown is about six miles, and the country is of a soft, marshy character, impassable for artillery in rainy weather, and in the hot season very unhealthy from the malaria of the swamps. The land is very fertile, and the people mostly wealthy. The city of Yorktown itself is composed of about thirty old-fashioned wood and brick houses, and the remains of the ancient fortifications are visible around it. After the battle of Big Bethel the Confederates set themselves to strengthen this position. The passage of the York

river was regarded as impossible for any vessels, and such advantage was taken of the nature of the ground as to make the land passage up the Peninsula impossible. General J. B. Magruder had been in command nearly a year, and some 2,000 blacks had been employed at Yorktown and Gloucester, with a force of about 7,000 men. An immense connected fortification, with its numerous salient angles, mounted with the heaviest guns, with a lofty parapet difficult to scale, and a deep dry ditch, commanded the river, where was also a formidable water-battery. Running toward the right of the lines there was a long breastwork, not pierced for guns, but having in front a ditch of the same depth as that before the fort. This breastwork connects a redoubt of considerable magnitude, and another breastwork of the same description connects another redoubt beyond, still further to the left. On this redoubt there had been mounted a number of columbiads and Dahlgren naval guns, with one siege howitzer. In front of these works there is an immense area of open ground which is completely commanded by their guns. Trees which were of large growth had been cut down by the Confederates to give free range to their artillery. Deep gorges and ravines are inside and about these fortifications. This natural advantage furnished good cover for their troops against artillery fire, and rendered the position difficult to assault. To the left of the Yorktown road—the enemy's right—as the town is approached, other fortifications had been constructed. On the line of the Warwick road, a few hundred yards from the Yorktown turnpike, there is a small ravine. An inconsiderable stream has been made to increase the extent of a natural swamp in front of the works at this point. All these works were well manned, and provided with the heaviest and best description of guns. Every preparation being made, the Confederate general issued the following order:

“GENERAL ORDER, No. 150.

“HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE PENINSULA,
“BARTILLER RANCHE, *March 18, 1862.*

“All the arrangements having been made for the defence of the Peninsula, and the Commanding General, whose troops are stationed at different points, not having it in his power to be at the same time with each division of troops, the following directions are given for the government of all, viz.:

"When any body of our troops, large or small, meet with any body of the enemy's troops, however large, the commanding officer of our troops will cause the same to be immediately attacked, and the men will attack at once, and furiously. This is an order easily understood by officers and men, and doubtless will be obeyed with alacrity by both.

"The above instructions are not intended for those who have special orders under certain named circumstances not to fight.

"By order of

Major-General MAGRUDER.

"JOHN DONNELL SMITH, *Acting Aid-de-camp.*"

The position was deemed impregnable by its commander, and after reconnoitring, General McClellan set down before it to besiege it in form.

There were crossing the Peninsula three main lines of defensive works. The first of these commenced at a point on the York river, and extended south until it met the head of Warwick river, which running about four miles south empties into the James. This line mounted 140 guns. In the rear of this was another line of detached works mounting 120 guns, and still further in the rear a third line connected with the main place, extending in front of Williamsburg, and mounting 240 guns. In front of the first line of defence there were numerous detached works from which the enemy were successively driven. The army gradually approached this line. Several skirmishes occurred, but nothing serious until the 16th of April, when it was ascertained that the enemy had thrown up a new battery on the Warwick about one mile above Lee's Mills. This was the left of the Union lines held by General Keyes. General Brooks' brigade with Mott's battery moved forward to within 1,200 yards of the new work west of the Warwick river, which had been slack-watered so as to swell the stream, and increase its depth and width. The ground on the Union side front of the work was open, but with woods on either flank. The batteries of Ayers, Wheeler, Mott, and Kennedy advanced to this open space in front of the enemy, and began a terrific fire at 800 yards distant. The sixth Vermont, Colonel Lord, the fourth, Colonel Stoughton, and the third, Colonel Hyde, approached both flanks of the enemy through the woods to reconnoitre. They were received with a telling fire of musketry, which drove them back. Four companies of the third Vermont then made a rush at the stream, attempting to ford, the water being waist

deep, but the fire of the enemy overpowered them. The sixth Vermont left the woods on the right and crossed the open space in front of the left, in support of the third, and dashed across; but on gaining the opposite bank, encountered a murderous fire from the rifle-pits, which drove them back with heavy loss. The fourth made the same attempt with similar results. The troops then withdrew, having sustained a loss of some 200 killed, wounded, and missing. This action produced much sensation in consequence of the dauntless bravery displayed by the men, and the apparently useless nature of the sacrifice of life, and a court of inquiry was held in consequence upon request of General Smith.

The idea of forcing the enemy's lines was now abandoned, and the siege progressed very steadily with the immense resources at the command of General McClellan. The transports on the Chesapeake Bay brought supplies freely to either flank of his army on the York or James rivers, and to Ship's Point, which, after it was abandoned by the enemy, became an important dépôt. Lines of approach were commenced against the place on a large scale, and pushed with much vigor to completion. As the lines approached within breaching distance of the enemy's works, batteries were established to command important points. Large detachments were employed at night working the parallels, and connecting them with boyaux. The generals of the various brigades took command of these working parties by turns, supported by armed detachments, relieved every twenty-four hours. The enemy showed much activity and courage in his attempts to impede and destroy these works, and frequent encounters along the line tested the courage and address of the men. The front of our lines was occupied by sharpshooters, who were very efficient in picking off the enemy's gunners, in some cases silencing the guns that most annoyed the trenchers. As suitable positions were reached, siege-guns were placed in battery. On the 22d of April a large force of the enemy came out for the purpose of destroying the works in front of Smith's division, but after driving in the Union pickets, were repulsed with much loss. On the 25th, General Grover sent a portion of the first Massachusetts to carry a lunette, which the Confederates had constructed on the east side of the Warwick, near its head. This work, having a strong par-

apet and ditch six feet deep, was manned by two companies of infantry, who deserted the place before the vigorous charge of the Massachusetts men. These operations were continued as the works progressed, aided by the occasional shelling of Yorktown and Gloucester by the gunboats. The enemy, in the mean time, continually strengthened his works, constructing batteries to answer those erected by the Union troops, and on both sides the most formidable preparations were made for the final struggle which was now approaching. The troops on both sides had, during the month of April, been constantly engaged in skirmishes and daring assaults and repulses, and the *morale* of the Union army was wrought up to high pitch by the success of the deadly encounters as well as by increasing confidence in the generals, and by the imposing nature of the formidable works of attack, that skilfully designed had risen before the enemy under the steady industry of the men whose intelligence led them to appreciate at once the effectiveness of the means used for the reduction of the place as well as the skill and ability of the commanders who directed them. By the close of April, there had been constructed fourteen powerful batteries and three redoubts within breaching distance of the enemy's works. These contained ninety-six heavy guns in position ready to thunder against the opposing walls. Of the number there were two 200-pounders, three 100-pounders, ten 13-inch mortars, forty-three 10-inch mortars, and twenty-five Parrott guns of different calibre. These were well supplied and nearly ready for the attack on May 1st.

On the other hand, the enemy had so strengthened his position as to deem it impregnable against any assaults from without, and reinforcements were within reach from Richmond, to supply his three lines of defence. He had so fortified Yorktown and Gloucester, opposite, with the heaviest description of guns, commanding the narrow passage up the York river, that it was deemed impossible for any vessels to pass. The naval officers decided the position too strong. These positions were frequently reconnoitred by gunboats, and it was found that the guns there planted were of the longest range, and heaviest calibre. The enemy's system of defence was founded upon this assumed impassability of the river, for any vessels between Yorktown and Gloucester. The Peninsula is about

twenty-one miles broad, and the main road of retreat from Yorktown lies close on the bank of the York river, and quite within range of gunboats. If the river could be forced, the position of Yorktown could not be held; on the other hand, as long as the passage between Yorktown and Gloucester could be commanded, the works of Yorktown were good against any assaults of the besiegers. The Confederates therefore continued the defence with a confidence that had been strengthened by the results of the naval combat of March 8th, when the iron-clad Merrimac had made such terrible havoc with the wooden ships in Hampton Roads, an event which not only created a great sensation in the north, but startled all Europe with the immense results that had attended the first operations of an iron-clad steamer.

CHAPTER XX.

Iron Plated Ships.—First in Service.—Merrimac.—Her Armament.—Her Commander.—Federal Fleet.—Hampton Roads.—The Merrimac Attack.—Cumberland.—Congress.—Burning.—Captain Jones.—Minnesota.—Monitor.—Constitution.—Armament.—Iron Clad Duel.—Captain Van Brunt.—Damage to the Minnesota.

THE mode of constructing wood vessels by plating them with iron, had long engaged the attention of the maritime nations of Europe, and great expense had been incurred in constructing such vessels in France and England. The Confederate states were the first to employ one in actual war. When Norfolk was abandoned in April, 1861, it will be remembered, that among the steamers left behind was the Merrimac, undergoing repairs. She had been sunk by the Union forces when abandoned. The Confederates, however, raised her, cut her down to the water's edge, and plated her with interlapped railroad iron, placed sloping in such a manner that all shot must strike her at angles. She was provided with an iron beak for the purpose of crushing the sides of an enemy's vessel, when run into. Her armament consisted of four 11-inch guns on each side, and two 100-pounders at bow and stern. Nine months had been spent in completing her; on the 8th of March, with a picked crew, under the command of Lieutenant Buchanan* for-

* Franklin Buchanan, the first commander of the Merrimac, was a native of Maryland, but was appointed to the United States Navy, from Pennsylvania. He entered the service on the 28th of January, 1815, and steadily worked himself through the various gradations of promotion until, at the commencement of 1861, his name was No. 47 on the list of captains. While in the Union service he received his captain's commission on the 14th of September, 1855. His total sea service had been about sixteen years and a half, and his total service under the United States government was over forty-six years. When he resigned, he was in the position of Commandant of the Navy Yard at Washington, a post of honor, and one which he had held for a length of time.

merly of the United States service, she left Norfolk and made her appearance in Hampton Roads. The national fleet then in the roads embraced the Congress, fifty guns; the Cumberland, twenty-two guns; the Minnesota, forty guns; the Roanoke, forty guns; the St. Lawrence, fifty guns; the gunboats Zouave, Dragon, and Whitehall, with two or three gunboats that had been employed shelling Yorktown and Jamestown. The Congress and the Cumberland were blockading the James river, in the waters of which were two Confederate steamers, the Yorktown and Jamestown. These were all wooden vessels, very efficient of their class, and ably commanded. The Cumberland and the Congress laid off Newport News, covering the entrance of the Nansemond and James rivers, and blockading in the latter the Confederate steamers the Jamestown and the Yorktown, or Patrick Henry as she was called. These two vessels had been packet steamers, running to New York, and had been seized and converted into war steamers on the outbreak of the war. The Minnesota, the St. Lawrence, and the Roanoke were at anchor near the Rip Raps, just without the range of the large rifled guns on Sewell's Point.

Rumors in relation to the Merrimac and her state of forwardness had long been rife, when on the 8th, at 1 p. m., she was descried from the deck of the Minnesota rounding Sewell's Point. Signal was immediately made from the Roanoke, Captain Marston, for the vessels to engage. The Minnesota slipped her cables and made sail for the stranger. In passing Sewell's Point her mast was badly wounded by a rifle-shot, and the vessel grounded within one and a half miles of Newport News. The Merrimac, meantime, passed the Congress and attacked the Cumberland, which had promptly cleared for action, and which had opened fire upon her as she neared. The steamer did not reply until she struck the Cumberland under the starboard forechannels, staving in her side and pouring in her shot at the same moment. The guns of the Cumberland played upon her with great vigor and rapidity, but with no apparent effect. In ten minutes the water had risen to the main hatchway in spite of the pumps, drowning out the powder magazines. The ship then canted to port, and all hands sprang to save the wounded. The rapidly sinking ship however cut short their efforts, carrying down

a number of helpless heroes, and her guns delivered their last fire as the water closed over them, her flag still flying in defiance of her foe. The loss in men was about 100; all the papers having gone down with the frigate, it was difficult to ascertain the actual loss. The utmost gallantry was displayed by Lieutenant Morris and his officers, who earned imperishable renown. The whole affair lasted fifteen minutes. The Merrimac then attacked the Congress, Captain W. Smith, throwing shot and shell into her with terrific effect. The Congress returned the fire with the utmost energy and alacrity, but the missiles glanced from the iron plates like hail-stones, while the heavy shot of the steamer completely riddled the Congress. On seeing the fate of the Cumberland, the Congress, with the assistance of the Zouave, was run ashore. The Patrick Henry and the Jamestown then came down the river and took part in the fight, firing into the Congress with great precision. The Congress could only bring to bear her two stern guns, which were soon disabled, amidst frightful slaughter. There being no prospect of any relief, her colors were hauled down at 3½ o'clock. Lieutenant Parker was then sent on board by Captain Buchanan to take possession, remove the wounded, and fire the ship.

While these events were transpiring, the shore batteries at Newport News were not idle. General Mansfield, in command, had been notified of the approach of the Merrimac, and made preparations to receive her. When she ran into the Cumberland she was within a mile of the shore batteries, and by General Mansfield's order, she was opened upon with four columbiads, one James 42-pounder, three 8-inch siege howitzers, and two light rifled cannon. The shot from all these fell upon her as thickly and harmlessly as hail-stones; she paid no attention to them, but kept up her work of destruction. When the Congress had struck her flag, the steamers Beaufort and Raleigh ran alongside to take off the wounded—the flag of truce flying on the Congress. General Mansfield observing this, ordered Captain Howard, with two rifled guns, and Colonel Brown, with two companies of the twentieth Indiana, to open upon the steamer from the beach, 600 yards distant. It was this fire that wounded Captain Buchanan, Lieutenant Taylor, and others. The steamers then withdrew out of range under the impression of treachery on the part of the Congress. In

consequence, the *Merrimac* again opened fire upon the Congress with hot shot, and she burned to the water's edge. The conflagration lasted through the night, throwing its lurid glare upon the surrounding bay and strand. Her fifty-four shotted guns discharged in turn as the flames reached them, until the final explosion of the magazine closed the grand spectacle. A shot from one of the guns sunk a steamer at the wharf. Lieutenant J. D. Smith of the Congress was killed, and a great many others. There was on board one company of the Union Coast Guard, ninety-ninth New York, Captain McIntire. Of this company twenty-six were killed, wounded, and missing, and sixty-three saved. The gunboat *Zouave*, while tending the Congress, was riddled with shot, without, however, losing any men.

The *Merrimac*, under the command of 1st Lieutenant Catesby Ap R. Jones,* in consequence of the wound of Captain Buchanan, accompanied by the *Jamestown* and *Patrick Henry*, bore down upon the *Minnesota*, which was aground in a locality which prevented the *Merrimac* from coming within a mile of her. She took, however, a position on the starboard bow, and the other two steamers on the port bow, and the *Minnesota* was soon riddled, with great slaughter of the men. She succeeded, however, in driving off the two small steamers. She expended in the action 529 solid shot and 5,507 pounds of powder, but with no apparent effect upon the *Merrimac*. The loss on board the *Minnesota* was four killed and twenty wounded. In the mean time the *St. Lawrence*, Captain Purviance, got under way to aid the *Minnesota*, but grounded; she however opened upon the *Merrimac*, and received a

* Catesby Ap R. Jones, who commanded the *Merrimac* on Sunday, the second day of the fight, formerly belonged to the United States Navy, but left the service when the rebellion broke out. He is a native and citizen of Virginia, from which State he was appointed to the United States service, which he entered on the 18th of June, 1836. He was appointed a lieutenant of the navy on the 12th of May, 1849. He was last at sea under the United States flag in May, 1859, after which he was appointed on special duty in the fitting out of the *Pawnee*. He served for nearly four years at sea under his lieutenant's commission, and his total sea service was fourteen years and six months. He was on shore and other duty for nearly six years, and was unemployed for over four and a half years. He had been in the service of the United States up to the time of the rebellion for twenty-five years. When he resigned, he stood No. 73 on the list of lieutenants.

shot in return doing much damage. It was now seven o'clock, and the Confederate steamer withdrew towards Elizabeth river, with the intention of renewing the conflict in the morning. This delay, perhaps made necessary by the state of the tide, was fatal to her further service, since in the night arrived a new enemy which was to prove her match.

The Monitor was constructed by Captain Ericsson, and differs materially from any vessel before constructed. Her length is 172 feet on deck, and her breadth forty-one feet. Her hull floats eighteen inches above the water, and is covered with five thicknesses of wrought iron plates, each one inch thick, to a point three and a-half feet below the water line. Her deck is covered with one inch wrought iron. A wrought iron turret, twenty-one and a-half feet outside diameter, nine feet high, and eight inches thick, is placed near the centre of buoyancy. In this turret are mounted two 11-inch Dahlgren guns. The turret revolves, and is turned around with great facility by steam, its movements being controlled by the commanding officer inside. As she goes into action, there is nothing above her deck but the turret and a shot-proof pilot house, and, when she is anchored outside a fort or battery, the latter is lowered below the deck. In that position, if she is boarded by the enemy they cannot get below nor into the turret, and her decks can be swept by her own guns loaded with canister.

This vessel made her trial trip in New York Bay, March 3, with success; her speed was six and a quarter knots, the engines making sixty-five revolutions. She sailed for Fortress Monroe under command of Lieutenant John L. Worden, and reported for duty, on board the Minnesota at 2 A. M. March 9, amidst the most anxious preparations, for the expected renewed attack of the Merrimac in the morning. Her appearance on the scene was greeted by the awful explosion of the magazines of the Congress, whose flames had lighted the entrance of the Monitor into Chesapeake Bay. Her singular and diminutive appearance, which was described by the enemy as that of a "cheese-box upon a plank," was not of a character to create much confidence in the minds of those who had witnessed the terrible efficiency of her gigantic rival on the previous day, but she was at least a friend in the hour of need.

At six o'clock, the smoke of the Merrimac was again seen coming round Craney Island, accompanied by the Yorktown and Jamestown. The Merrimac ran down for the Minnesota, still aground, but prepared to receive the enemy. A 11-inch shot from the enemy entered the Minnesota under her counter, doing great damage. Captain Van Brunt signaled the Monitor to attack the enemy, and that vessel immediately closed in upon her, delivering her fire at close quarters with great rapidity, and receiving in exchange whole broadsides of the enemy with the utmost apparent indifference. She plied her shot with great assiduity, seeking to drive them through the port holes of her gigantic enemy. This extraordinary encounter lasted some hours, presenting the strange spectacle of two vessels, thirty or forty yards apart, armed with the most destructive weapons of modern warfare, pounding away at each other to the extent of their great capacities, and without being able to injure each other at all. The shots, one of which would have been fatal to the best wooden ship afloat, rolled off from each combatant like dew-drops from a leaf. In that hour the naval history of the world dates a new era. The relative military strength of nations was changed in that encounter. Navies, blockades, defences, and even commerce, as an element of naval strength, were henceforth to assume new characters and to change their relative importance. As the thunder of those guns rolled across the Atlantic and reverberated in the council halls of European Governments, the greatest interest and the greatest deliberations were excited.

The question of vulnerability being sufficiently tested, the Merrimac no longer fired upon the Monitor, but turned her attention to the Minnesota, which delivered without the slightest effect, though every shot hit, a broadside which would have sufficed to blow out of water the most formidable timber-built ship in the world. The Merrimac in return fired one shell from her rifled bow gun, which knocked four rooms into one, exploded some charges of powder, and set the ship on fire. The second went through the boiler of the gun-boat Dragon, which was attempting to tow the ship off. The boiler exploded, blowing up the vessel, and killing and wounding six men. All the guns of the Minnesota were actively employed, together with the Monitor, and the gunner reported that sixty shot had struck

and rolled harmlessly from the sides of the enemy, which now got aground through the ebb of tide. In this position she withstood the utmost efforts of the combined fire. Soon she got off and stood down the bay followed by the Monitor. She suddenly turned, however, and ran full speed into her diminutive antagonist, receiving from her a shot which penetrated the roof. The fierce conflict between the two was then renewed until the Monitor stood down for Fortress Monroe. The Merrimac and her companions then turned toward the Minnesota,* when Captain Van Brunt, seeing the hopelessness of the encounter, made preparations to destroy his ship rather than surrender. He then threw over his heavy guns, started the water, and got the tugs alongside. The enemy, meantime, changed their course, and soon disappeared behind Craney Island. Thus closed the most remarkable naval performance in the history of the world, when the amount of damage done is taken into consideration. There were destroyed two frigates carrying seventy-two guns, two others carrying ninety guns, several gunboats were disabled, and numbers were slain at the shore batteries engaged. The loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was 260 men. This havoc displayed the capabilities of an iron-clad steamer of ten guns; and the vessel of such capabilities was withstood for hours by a much smaller one of two guns. This fact proves that imperviousness to shot neutralizes almost any power of attack. The iron-clad vessel may, it was assumed, proceed with her work of destruction against wooden vessels or forts, utterly regardless of missiles. The danger to which she may be exposed will be from collision with larger and swifter iron-clad vessels. This was attempted by the Merrimac upon the Monitor, but the low deck of the latter caused the iron prow of her assailant to run over it, and did not therefore meet solid resistance. The tower of the Monitor was struck nine times. The vessel in all received twenty-two shot, one of which damaged the pilot-house, breaking a bar nine by twelve inches of the best wrought iron, and wounded the captain, Worden. Three men were knocked down by the concussion of the shot against the sides of the turret. The uproar on board the Monitor was terrific; when the guns recoiled, the noise

* Official report of Captain Van Brunt.

of the massive pendulums, swinging by and closing the ports, reverberated throughout the vessel; the striking of shot against the sides and the turret; the awful noise of her own guns, the whizzing of shot over the decks, and the explosion of the enormous rifle-shells when they struck, made a terrible din.

The timely appearance of this steamer, in defence of the fleet, gave great cause of rejoicing. The consequences of the success of the *Merrimac* had strongly impressed all military men. General McClellan telegraphed to have the defences of the cities of Long Island Sound and other places immediately looked to, and General Wool telegraphed that the timely appearance of the *Monitor* had saved Fortress Monroe. Daily expectations were entertained of her reappearance, but she had sustained damage in the collision with the *Monitor* and from the bursting of one of her guns, which required repair, and it was not until the 11th April that she again left port. On that day, at 7 A. M., she passed out of the Elizabeth river accompanied by the *Yorktown* and *Jamestown*, and four other gunboats. When half-way between Sewell's Point and Newport News, the fleet stopped, with the exception of the *Yorktown* and *Jamestown* and a tug, these continued their course and taking possession of two brigs and a schooner, towed them off without the slightest resistance being offered. The other vessels in the harbor made all sail to escape. The fleet remained stationary until four o'clock, when the *Merrimac* fired three shot, which were replied to by the *Naugatuck* and *Octopara*. Soon afterwards the fleet returned up the Elizabeth river. This exploit created much feeling in the north, since it was evident that if the enemy could come out and capture Union vessels under the guns of Fortress Monroe, without any resistance from our fleet, that the great resources of the army of the Peninsula were at his mercy. It began to be pretty evident, however, that the *Merrimac* drew too much water to be very efficient in the waters around Fortress Monroe, where the other iron-clads began to assemble in strength, and by the close of April, there were a considerable number of formidable vessels there concentrated with the object of engaging and running her down, and she became very wary in her movements.

CHAPTER XXI.

Effect of the taking of New Orleans.—Yorktown no longer Defensible.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Movements of the Troops.—Rapid Pursuit.—Williamsburg.—The Battle.—Dash of the Troops.—Retreat of the Enemy.—West Point.—Closing in on the Enemy.—State of the Roads.—Gunboats in the James River.—Protects both Flanks.—Fort Darling.—Repulse of the Gunboats.

AN event now occurred which changed the current of interest, and which was fraught with the gravest consequences. The city of New Orleans was mainly defended by the formidable batteries of Fort Jackson, on the south side of the Mississippi river, and Fort St. Philip on the opposite side, and also by rafts laden with pitch and turpentine, and by chains across the river. It was deemed quite impossible for gunboats to pass, but on the 25th April, news was received that the Union gunboats had, at 4 o'clock A. M., April 24th, forced their way up the river, passed those forts, and the fall of New Orleans resulted. It became at once apparent that if those Mississippi forts could be forced, the York river, although defended by the Yorktown and Gloucester batteries, was no longer safe. The Monitor, the new iron-clad Galena, the Naugatuck, and other impervious vessels, could force the passage, and that as a consequence, Yorktown, how well soever it might be able to hold out against the land force, was no longer tenable. It was in fact turned. The Confederate generals, Davis, Lee, Johnston, decided upon the evacuation, although General Magruder opposed it. The movement commenced May 1st, and continued through Friday and Saturday, under cover of a heavy cannonade, and the fact of the evacuation was disclosed only by some deserters who came into camp on Sunday morning, May 4th, when the following despatches were sent to Washington:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
May 4—9 A. M.

"To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"We have the ramparts.

"We have guns, ammunition, camp equipage, &c.

"We hold the entire line of his works, which the engineers report as being very strong.

"I have thrown all my cavalry and horse artillery in pursuit, supported by infantry.

"I move Franklin's division, and as much more as I can transport by water, up to West Point to-day.

"No time shall be lost.

"The gunboats have gone up York river.

"I omitted to state that Gloucester is also in our possession.

"I shall push the enemy to the wall.

"GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, *Major-General.*

This despatch was followed by two more of the same day:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
May 4—11.30 A. M.

"To Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"An inspection just made shows that the rebels abandoned in their works at Yorktown, two three-inch rifled cannon, two four-and-half-inch rifled cannon, sixteen thirty-two pounders, six forty-two pounders, nineteen eight-inch columbiads, four nine-inch Dahlgrens, one ten-inch columbiad, one ten-inch mortar, and one eight-inch siege howitzer, with carriages and implements complete, each piece supplied with seventy-six rounds of ammunition. On the ramparts there are also four magazines, which have not yet been examined. This does not include the guns left at Gloucester Point, and their other works to our left.

"GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, *Major-General.*"

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
" May 4—7 P. M.

"To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"Our cavalry and horse artillery came up with the enemy's rear guard in their intrenchments about two miles this side of Williamsburg.

"A brisk fight ensued. Just as my aid left, Smith's division of infantry arrived on the ground, and I presume carried the works, though I have not yet heard.

"The enemy's rear is strong; but I have force enough up there to answer all purposes.

"We have thus far taken seventy-one heavy guns, large amounts of tents, ammunition, &c.

"All along the lines their works prove to have been most formidable, and I am now fully satisfied of the correctness of the course I have pursued.

"The success is brilliant, and you may rest assured that its effects will be of the greatest importance.

"There shall be no delay in following up the rebels.

"The rebels have been guilty of the most murderous and barbarous conduct, in placing torpedoes within the abandoned works, near wells and springs, and near flag-staffs, magazines, telegraph offices, in carpet-bags, barrels of flour, &c.

"We have not lost many men in this manner—some four or five killed, and perhaps a dozen wounded. I shall make the prisoners remove them at their own peril.

"GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, *Major-General.*"

The army had thus been thirty days before Yorktown, which time the enemy had gained for the perfection of the defences of Richmond. It had also prolonged operations into the hot season, which they counted on as fatal to the army amidst the swamps of the Peninsula.

The pursuit of the enemy was undertaken with great vigor. Generals Heintzelman, Hooker, and Kearney, with their commands, preceded by artillery and cavalry, started in pursuit on the road to Williamsburg, hoping to overtake them before reaching that point. The swampy roads were, however, almost impassable, and the enemy's rear guard availed itself of every favorable opportunity for a stand; at the same time the gunboat flotilla passed up the York river to overtake the enemy at West Point, at the junction of the Rapidan and Pamunkey rivers. The division of General Franklin was on board, designed to land in the enemy's rear. General McClellan remained at Yorktown to hurry forward these troops, from which great expectations were entertained, since they might be able to perform the duty originally intended for McDowell. The troops of Franklin had not been disembarked since their arrival. The iron-clad steamer Galena, with the *Aroostook* and *Port Royal*, passed up the James river, pressing the enemy on both flanks. General Heintzelman was charged with the pursuit on the Yorktown road. Casey and Couch went forward by the road from Warwick Court-House.

General Stoneman's brigade came up with the enemy's rear guard two miles and a half from Williamsburg, at the junction of two roads, one leading to Hampton and the other to Yorktown, by which the Union troops advanced; they were strongly posted behind earth-works, and a cavalry skirmish occurred with unimportant results. The works of the enemy consisted of Fort Magruder, at the junction of the roads; on either hand

were redoubts, thirteen in number, extending across the Peninsula and connected by rifle-pits. The principal work, the only one which mounted heavy guns, was in the centre at the fork of the roads. By dark on Sunday, the main army had arrived in front of the works, after incredible toil in getting the guns to the front through the twelve miles of mud which extends between Yorktown and the battle-field. It was only by the most strenuous exertions that the artillery was got forward; the supply trains did not get through, and the men, with no other food than that contained in their haversacks, and worn out with toil, slept on their arms all night amidst a drenching rain, which turned the soft quicksands of the Peninsula into a slough. Smith's division followed Stoneman, and Hooker left the Yorktown road for the Hampton road, which intersects the Yorktown road at nearly right angles before the enemy's position. The night was intensely dark and rainy, and they did not reach the front until half-past five o'clock A. M. on the 5th.

The enemy's works are on an elevated plain, sloping east and south. As they are approached from the south either by the Yorktown or Hampton roads, they are concealed by a heavy forest, but the trees on a belt of a mile broad in front of the works, had been felled in order that an enemy's approach might be seen in season; between the felled timber and the works was another belt of clearspace 700 yards wide, affording no shelter to approaching troops. Fort Magruder had substantial parapets, ditches, and its crests measuring nearly half a mile, commanding the Yorktown and Hampton roads, and the neighboring redoubts commanded the ravines which were not swept by its guns. General Hooker at once made disposition for the attack. As his weary men, toiling through mud and rain, arrived, they had two hours' rest, and at half-past seven A. M., Grover was directed to attack, which he did by sending the first Massachusetts into the felled timber to the left of the road, to skirmish up to the cleared land and then turn their attention to the gunners of the fort. The second New Hampshire had the same duty on the right; the eleventh Massachusetts and the twenty-sixth Pennsylvania were sent further to the right until they should gain the Yorktown road. Weller's battery was then sent to the front of the felled timber, when Fort Magruder opened upon it, and as

it advanced two redoubts opened upon it, and it received such a storm of shot that the men were driven back. Volunteers were then called for, and a number sprang forward to work the guns. Marshall's battery then took up position on the right of Weller, supported by the fifth New Jersey. The remainder of Patterson's brigade protected the left of the road. Meantime the eleventh Massachusetts and the twenty-sixth Pennsylvania had reached the Yorktown road and were advancing on it to clear it of obstructions. The battle was now general, but the enemy was constantly strengthening his right and pressing harder upon Grover, who, reinforced by part of Taylor's brigade, was enabled to hold his own until one o'clock, when the remainder of Taylor's brigade was ordered up, and the eleventh Massachusetts was recalled from the right to further strengthen the left, where Taylor's men were falling short of ammunition and the supply trains not up. The enemy was now reinforced by Longstreet, and at the same time an attack was made upon the batteries in front, from which the support had been withdrawn to the left, and five of Bramhall's guns were captured. It was now three o'clock, when Heintzelman's corps arrived, and about four o'clock when General Kearney with his division reached the field, his troops replaced the exhausted lines of Hooker, which were withdrawn from the contest. The loss in Hooker's division was 1,240 killed and wounded. While the left was thus engaged, General Hancock's brigade, consisting of the fifth Wisconsin, Colonel Cobb; forty-ninth Pennsylvania, Colonel Erwin; forty-third New York, Colonel Vinton; sixth Maine, Colonel Burnham, were on the right, General Brooks with the Vermont troops were in the centre.

The brigade of Hancock was deployed on the extreme right, under the supervision of General Keyes, and took possession of two of the enemy's outer works, and thence formed in line of battle in an open field, when his battery opened upon Fort Paige. The enemy, perceiving that he was unsupported, attempted to get in his rear; as they advanced they were met by a brilliant bayonet charge which drove them back effectually. Reinforcements then coming up, the positions were held until morning. During the night of Monday the whole army was moved to the front, but as the rain continued, and the roads were made worse

by the movement upon them, it was impossible to get up the supply trains, and the troops suffered for want of food. In the morning the Confederate army was seen drawn up in front of Williamsburg, but beyond the forts, which it was soon discovered had been abandoned. The enemy were already in motion to the rear, and before their deserted works were occupied they were already beyond the city, marching to the north-west. There were no guns captured in the forts. The enemy reported his killed and wounded at 220, and that they captured 623 prisoners and eleven field-pieces. These results gave General McClellan, who arrived on the field at five o'clock Monday, great satisfaction, as appears from his despatch as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
"WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, *Tuesday, May 6.*

"HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"I have the pleasure to announce the occupation of this place as the result of the hard fought action of yesterday.

"The effect of Hancock's brilliant engagement yesterday afternoon was to turn the left of their line of works. He was strongly reinforced, and the enemy abandoned the entire position during the night, leaving all his sick and wounded in our hands. His loss yesterday was very severe.

"We have some 300 uninjured prisoners, and more than a thousand wounded. Their loss in killed is heavy. The victory is complete. I have sent cavalry in pursuit.

"The conduct of our men has been excellent, with scarcely an exception.

"The enemy's works are very extensive and exceedingly strong, both in respect to position and the works themselves.

"Our loss was heavy in Hooker's division, but very little on other parts of the field.

"Hancock's success was gained with a loss of not over twenty killed and wounded.

"The weather is good to-day, but there is great difficulty in getting up food on account of the roads. Very few wagons have yet come up.

"Am I authorized to follow the example of other generals, and direct the names of battles to be placed on colors of regiments?

"We have other battles to fight before reaching Richmond.

"G. B. McCLELLAN,
"Major-General Commanding."

The enemy retreated beyond the Chickahominy, to which stream the cavalry pursued them, finding no fortifications, but capturing many prisoners. The pursuit was pushed on with little intermission toward Richmond.

The account given of the battle by General McClellan before the war committee, was as follows:

"As soon as I knew that the enemy had evacuated Yorktown, I ordered the cavalry, under General Stoneman, with the horse artillery, in pursuit. I directed the divisions of Kearney and Hooker to move by the direct road from Yorktown to Williamsburg, while the divisions of Smith, Couch and Casey were ordered by the road from Warwick Court-House to Williamsburg. The divisions of Richardson, Sedgwick and Porter were moved to the immediate vicinity of Yorktown, ready either to support the troops who had advanced by land or to go by water, as circumstances might render advisable. The general instructions given to the troops ordered in pursuit were to overtake the enemy and inflict as much damage as possible. This was on Sunday. That night I heard that the cavalry had come up with the enemy in the vicinity of Williamsburg, that they had been obliged to fall back from the works, and that the infantry were within a half hour's march, rapidly approaching, and would undoubtedly carry the position. General Sumner was in command of the troops ordered to the front. I remained at Yorktown on Sunday, and on Monday morning engaged in arranging for the forwarding of Franklin's division to West Point and in consultation with the naval commander, as well as other duties incident to my position. I heard nothing from the front on Monday morning that gave me any idea that there was any thing serious involved. I heard nothing from General Sumner. The first intimation I had that there was any thing at all serious was from Governor Sprague, who came to me at Yorktown and told me that things were not going on well in front. This was, I think, about noon; it may have been half an hour or an hour one way or the other. He told me that things were not going well, and that my presence in the front was necessary. As soon as I heard that I took a boat, went down to camp where my horses were, and immediately left for the front, meeting on the way the Prince de Joinville and an aid of General Sumner, who had been sent back to hurry me up. Up to this time I had had no information from General Sumner, or any one in command, that there was any thing at all serious in front. I arrived on the ground I should think about an hour or an hour and a half before dark. I acquainted myself, as rapidly as possible, with the state of affairs, and immediately ordered reinforcements to General Hancock, who was heavily engaged when I arrived, and I endeavored to communicate with General Heintzelman, who was on the left of the position. I was told that it was impossible to communicate directly with our left under General Heintzelman. I sent an officer, Captain Alexander, with a company to endeavor to open communication with General Heintzelman, that I might learn the state of affairs there. He returned after dark with the information that it was impracticable to get through the marsh. I then went around some seven or eight miles, by way of the rear, to communicate. During the night I heard from General Heintzelman that Hooker's division had been badly cut up, and could not be relied upon for very heavy work in the morning; that Kearney's division, although it had suffered severely, could be fully relied upon to

hold its own, and that no advance could be made in that quarter without heavy reinforcements. I felt satisfied, from what I knew of Hancock's position, that the battle was won; that he had occupied the decisive point and gained possession of a portion of the enemy's line, and that they must make a night retreat or we would have greatly the advantage of them in the morning. So fully was I satisfied of that, that I countermanded orders that I had given in the afternoon for the advance of Richardson's and Sedgwick's divisions to the front and sent them back to Yorktown to go by water, feeling sure that the battle was won. During the night the enemy abandoned their position. We sent the cavalry in pursuit; took a few prisoners and a few guns. The condition of the roads was such that we could not promptly advance the army. We could not for more than forty-eight hours after the battle even feed the men on the ground where they stood; we could not get the supplies to them.

I was deceived in the road. I expected to find the nature of the soil much more favorable than it was."

There is but little doubt but that the battle of Williamsburg was a mistake, and that there had been no intention on either side to fight there. The place was a strong one and well fortified, and if the enemy fought there at all, he would, it was to be supposed, do so in great force, and there were no adequate preparations made on the Union side for that resistance. The battle was commenced and fought by different corps, without concert of action, and without any general order. The cavalry of Stoneman overtook the enemy's rear guard, under circumstances which forced the enemy to send back his infantry, already far in advance, to rescue them. Hooker attacked, and was severely handled. Kearney came to his rescue, out-ranked him and continued the battle, which was sustained by the operations of Hancock. In the night the enemy resumed his retreat. The Union loss was several thousand men and gained nothing. The enemy had gained time for his trains to move on.

The division of General Franklin arrived at West Point on the afternoon of the 6th. The object in sending Franklin and Sedgwick to West Point by water was to endeavor to cut off the retreat of the enemy; but Franklin's movements were so delayed by bad weather as to defeat its accomplishment. The troops were, however, immediately landed on the south side of the Pamunkey river, half a mile below West Point. The enemy disappeared on the approach of the gunboats, and on the same evening part of General Sedgwick's troops, under General Dana, arrived.

In the morning of the 7th, these troops landed, and immediately advanced to drive the enemy, who were assembling in a piece of woods above. The second United States artillery was on the right of the advance, with Porter's Massachusetts battery. The enemy, however, pressed heavily on the left, and the troops were forced back with the loss of 500 prisoners, until they came within range of the gunboats, the vigorous fire of which threw the enemy into confusion, and they retired. General Franklin then completed his landing, and further arrivals of troops from Yorktown and Fortress Monroe strengthened the position, when it became an important base for the movement upon Richmond. The troops of Franklin and Sedgwick were fairly established.

It was important to form a junction with those troops as soon as possible. The James River carries twelve feet water up to the city, and the largest gunboats draw but nine feet; while both rivers were thus swept by the gunboats, the army under McClellan advanced securely upon its prey. The enemy retired slowly and in good order before the advance, skirmishing as they went, Longstreet covering the rear guard, closely pursued by Stoneman, the main body, under McClellan, following steadily. On the 9th of May his head-quarters were twelve miles from Williamsburg; and Stoneman, with the sixth United States cavalry, defeated the enemy's cavalry at New-Kent Court-House; on the 10th, the enemy, under Longstreet, having torn up the railroad, from West Point to White House, evacuated Cumberland, on the Pamunkey, two and a half miles from Kent Court-House. The place was occupied by the sixth cavalry, which came up with the enemy at Slater's Mills, and defeated them, with fourteen killed. On the following day, May 11th, they reached White House, the enemy's rear guard being at Tunstall's station, on the railroad. A junction was now effected with Franklin's corps, and General McClellan established his head-quarters at Roper's church, six miles from West Point, on the 13th. The troops were now permitted to rest, put their arms in order, recover from their fatiguing march, and recruit from their short rations. The advance was again ordered for the 19th, when the indefatigable Stoneman had his advance at Cold Harbor, ten miles northwest of Richmond, by turnpike and by New Bridge, over

the Chickahominy, eight miles from Richmond. There was now to enemy to the north of the Chickahominy. In the march which the army had made from Yorktown, innumerable hardships had been overcome, and great labors performed, roads had been constructed, bridges built, and the enemy driven before them. They were now recruited and eager again to advance.

In the mean time, the current of success had received a check. The gunboats Aroostook, Galena and Port Royal, with the Naugatuck and the Monitor, moved up the river, getting aground occasionally, but meeting no opposition until within eight miles from Richmond, at Ward's Bluff, crowned by Fort Darling. At that point were constructed two barriers of spiles, sunken steamboats and sail vessels, secured by chains, and the banks of the river were lined with rifle-pits. The Galena ran up to the barrier, swung across the stream, and opened upon the fort. The Monitor ran above her, but her guns could not be elevated to reach the fort, which was 200 feet high. The Naugatuck's 100-pdr. gun burst, and she was consequently disabled. The wooden vessels kept out of range around a bend in the river. The Galena, after four hours' firing, expended her ammunition and hauled off with thirteen killed and eleven wounded.

The sides of the Galena, which sloped in the view of causing shot to glance, were found to present only a fairer mark for shot from elevated points, and could not resist heavy metal. This was one of the first practical lessons in gunboat armor. This repulse of the gunboats, under the circumstances, materially altered the plan of the march upon Richmond. It was now certain that the aid they had given in turning Yorktown, and in supporting Franklin at West Point, would not be available for the final assault upon Richmond. Hence, it was obviously necessary to increase the land force to meet the new aspect of affairs. The army which was deemed sufficient for the capture of Richmond, when aided by gunboats impervious to shot, and which it was not doubted would reach Richmond on the 17th, at which date McClellan was at New Kent Court-House, was no longer sufficient, when it was found impracticable for the gunboats to reach the city, or give any further aid. Banks was in the valley of the Shenandoah, at Strasburg, and his corps had been

weakened to strengthen McDowell before Manassas, it having been inferred that the enemy had amassed his whole available force before Richmond, and that Jackson was not in force in the valley.

CHAPTER XXII.

Taking of Norfolk.—Gen. Viele's new Base of Movement.—Chickahominy.
—Position of Enemy.—Orders for Attack.—Hanover Court-House Battle.
—McDowell's Right Advance to Fair Oaks.—Surprise of Sumner.—Battle
of Fair Oaks.—Gallant Stand of the Troops.—Advance of the Reserves.—
Irresistible Attack.—Retreat of the Enemy.

THE surrender of Yorktown was immediately followed by a new enterprise which had important results. Norfolk, Virginia, had been held by the Confederates since the surrender to them of Gosport navy-yard with its vast military stores. It was the only naval dépôt possessed by the Confederates, and it was also the only harbor of refuge for the Merrimac. It had long been threatened on the south by the corps of General Burnside, who held Elizabeth City and Weldon, North Carolina, and it was but inadequately defended by General Huger with a small force. It was therefore determined to land troops, under cover of the gunboats, and capture the place. The point selected for the landing of troops was inspected by President Lincoln, who, at six o'clock on the 8th of May, went across from Fortress Monroe to a spot (Willoughby's Point) about one mile below the Rip Raps. On his return, a dozen transports were, in the clear moonlight, loaded with troops, and at daylight landed at the appointed place. The twentieth New York, Max Weber, immediately marched upon, and at eight A. M., halted within five miles of Norfolk. The first Delaware, Colonel Andrews, was pushed forward at nine o'clock, accompanied by Generals Mansfield and Viele and staff. They were soon followed by the sixteenth Massachusetts, Colonel Wyman. The balance of the expedition consisted of the tenth New York, Colonel Bendix; the forty-eighth Pennsylvania, Colonel Bailey; the ninety-ninth New York (Coast Guard), Major Dodge's battalion of mounted rifles, and Captain Follett's company D, of fourth (regular) artillery. General Wool and staff

remained to superintend the landing of the balance of the force, all of whom were landed and in motion before noon.

The harbor defences at Sewell's Point and Craney Island had been shelled on the previous day by the fleet under Goldsborough, and the Confederate commander abandoned Norfolk on the landing of the troops; who, as they approached were met by the mayor and other officials, who surrendered to General Wool, on his promise to respect private property. He issued the following proclamation.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA,

"NORFOLK, *May 10, 1862.*

"The city of Norfolk having been surrendered to the government of the United States, military possession of the same is taken in behalf of the national government, by Major-General John E. Wool.

"Brigadier-General Viele is appointed military governor for the time being. He will see that all citizens are carefully protected in all their rights and privileges, taking the utmost care to preserve order, and to see that no soldiers are permitted to enter the city except by his order or by the written permission of the commanding officer of his brigade or regiment, and he will punish summarily any American soldier who shall trespass upon the rights of any of the inhabitants.

"(Signed)

JOHN E. WOOL, *Major-General.*"

This event was followed by the destruction of the *Merimac*, by order of Commodore Tatnall. He stated that the pilots had assured him that if she was lightened she could be taken up James River. He accordingly threw her armament overboard. The pilots then said she still drew too much water. She being now disarmed, and having no place of refuge, she was set on fire, and shortly exploded. A court of inquiry subsequently stated that her destruction was unnecessary; that she could have been taken up James river to Hog Island, where, the channel being narrow, she could effectively have prevented the ascent of the enemy's vessels. Martial law was proclaimed at Norfolk. The following proclamation was issued in Norfolk:

"NORFOLK, VA., *May 10, 1862.*

"The occupancy of the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth is for the protection of the public property and the maintenance of the public laws of the United States. Private associations and domestic quiet will not be disturbed, but violations of order and disrespect to the government will be followed by the immediate arrest of the offenders.

"Those who have left their homes under the anticipation of any acts of vandalism, may be assured that the government allows no man the honor of serving in its armies who forgets the duties of a citizen

in discharging those of a soldier, and that no individual rights will be interfered with.

"The sale of liquor is prohibited. The offices of the Military Governor and of the Provost Marshal are at the Custom-House.

"(Signed)

EGBERT L. VIELE,

"Brigadier-General U. S. A., and Military Governor."

Immediate steps were taken to strengthen the Union position. A force was pushed forward under Major Dodge, to Suffolk, which is seventeen miles from Portsmouth, and twenty-two miles from Norfolk. It forms the junction of the Seaboard and Roanoke, and Norfolk and Petersburg Railroad. By the occupation of this point a junction might be effected, by means of the former road, with General Burnside, who was supposed to be at Weldon, North Carolina. An internal route of communication was thus established *via* the Dismal Swamp Canal and Norfolk between Burnside and McClellan. These operations gave great satisfaction to the commanders of the army.

The occupation of Norfolk apparently furnished a new basis for advance south of James river, while it relieved Burnside, in North Carolina, of an enemy on his flank, and enabled him, in case of a projected march upon Richmond, to give the hand to McClellan in case of his success before Richmond.

General McClellan was at Fortress Monroe, conferring with the President while these events were transpiring, and he returned to his camp in front of White House, May 20th, carrying with him the news, at which he seemed overjoyed. He gave this news from the saddle, telling the bystanders to spread it through the camps, and after his inspection of the respective regiments he repaired to Colonel Bartlett's tent, when, meeting Generals Franklin, Slocum, Newton, and others, he leaped from his horse, and, slapping Franklin on the shoulder, exclaimed, "Franklin, we have got the whole rebel crew, Joe Johnston, G. W. Smith, and all." A large crowd, collected around the tent as he rode up and alighted from his horse, heard him utter these words. After making this assertion, he walked back and forth before the tent, answering questions to all that might ask him, and at the same time excitedly drawing on his gloves, first on one hand, taking it off again, then on the other, until, growing calm, he sat down and entered into a chat with the generals around him.

The advance of the army from Yorktown had been directed upon West Point for the purpose of forming a junction with Franklin's corps, as well as to take advantage of the nature of the ground, which was less swampy on the York than on the James River. The Chickahominy river has its origin in Henrico and Hanover counties, where numerous small streams uniting, become a sizable river when it passes five miles to the north of Richmond, in its course south-west through extended swamps, to empty into the James river thirty-five miles below Richmond. The river thus forms a curve, covering Richmond to the north and south-east. Numerous bridges cross the stream, which is liable to sudden overflows. The advance of the army continued to the north of this stream, and having effected the junction with Franklin, the base of the army was fixed at West Point, which is connected with Richmond, thirty-five miles by railroad. On the 20th of May the advance of the army under Stoneman was at Gaines's Mills, eight and a half miles north of Richmond, and one and a half north of the new bridge. The pickets of the enemy occupied the opposite bank of the river, but there were apparently few troops in the neighborhood. The army held different points of the Chickahominy, at greater or less distances from the enemy's capital. Head-quarters were at Cold Harbor, on the turnpike, ten miles north of Richmond.

At this time General McClellan returned from Fortress Monroe with the news of the fall of Norfolk and the destruction of the Merrimac.

The latter event relieved him from the fear of the sudden appearance of the iron-clad upon his steam communications in York river, and the other, although it involved the reinforcement of his enemy before Richmond by Huger, and the troops withdrawn from Norfolk gave him the hope of receiving aid from Burnside, now no longer occupied with fears of the enemy on his flank at Norfolk. The army was now thoroughly rested, and once more impatient of inaction. The commissary arrangements were completed, and measures for an advance were immediately taken. Heavy trains of artillery were brought to the front. In order to communicate with the gunboats on James river it was necessary to send by land through the enemy's pickets, who swarmed in the country between the

Chickahominy and the James. Lieutenant F. C. Davis was detailed with ten men to make the attempt, and the perilous expedition was successfully performed. Rumors were now current that Beauregard was in Richmond with troops, arrived on their way from Corinth. The army of McDowell was at Fredericksburg, with pickets thrown forward in the direction of Richmond. The few reinforcements that McClellan had received were not sufficient to make good the waste by cannon and disease, and by the heavy garrisons of Yorktown, Williamsburg, and other points. To unite with McDowell would, however, insure success. For this purpose, on the 22d May, the sixth Pennsylvania cavalry was detached from the reserves, to reconnoitre the Pamunkey towards Hanover Court-House. In consequence of their report, Porter, with his division, marched rapidly upon that point where the railroads coming from Fredericksburg and from Gordonsville cross the river *en route* to Richmond. The enemy held the place under General Branch, the same who had been (March 14th) driven out of Newbern, N. C., by General Burnside; but Porter drove him out, captured a gun, 500 prisoners, and the control of the bridges. He was now within 15 miles of McDowell's pickets, and a single day's march would have united the two armies, insuring the capture of Richmond. There were, at the time, 40,000 men in and about Washington; but just at that juncture, viz., May 24, orders came from the Secretary of War, Stanton, to burn the bridges thus captured, and for McDowell to proceed by forced marches to the valley to succor Banks.

The position of the army was now very critical. There was no hope of reinforcements. General Jackson, by the celerity of his movements, had amazed all the commanders, and inquieted the government. There being no longer any hope of a junction with McDowell, there was great danger of the army being turned on its right, to protect which, the co-operation of McDowell had been depended upon. It was therefore necessary to hold both banks of the river, which, from the shifting nature of its bed, was difficult to bridge. There were in process of construction nine bridges to facilitate the passage, and enable each wing to support the other in case of emergency.

The different corps of the army continued to press the enemy upon the Chickahominy, and on the 23d, Naglee of Casey's division of Keyes's corps crossed at Bottom's Bridge, and, after a sharp struggle, made good his position three miles in advance on the Turnpike or Williamsburg road. On the 25th, General Stoneman's Light Brigade advanced from New Bridge up the river, and occupied Ellison's Mills, driving out the enemy under Howell Cobb. The eighth Illinois was then sent three miles further to destroy the bridge of the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad. The village of Mechanicsville, five miles from Richmond, was then occupied by the extreme right of the army. All preparations being now complete, General McClellan issued the following:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
“CAMP NEAR COAL HARBOR, VA., *May 25, 1862.*

“I. Upon advancing beyond the Chickahominy, the troops will go prepared for battle at a moment's notice, and will be entirely unincumbered, with the exception of ambulances. All vehicles will be left on the eastern side of the Chickahominy, and carefully packed. The men will leave their knapsacks, packed with the wagons, and will carry three days' rations. The arms will be put in perfect order before the troops march, and a careful inspection made of them, as well as of the cartridge-boxes, which, in all cases, will contain at least forty rounds; twenty additional rounds will be carried by the men in their pockets. Commanders of batteries will see that their limber and caisson boxes are filled to their utmost capacity.

“Commanders of army corps will devote their personal attention to the fulfilment of these orders, and will personally see that the proper arrangements are made for packing and properly guarding the trains and surplus baggage, taking all the steps necessary to insure their being brought promptly to the front when needed; they will also take steps to prevent the ambulances from interfering with the movement of any troops, which must follow in the rear of all the troops moving by the same road. Sufficient guards and staff-officers will be detailed to carry out these orders.

“The ammunition wagons will be in readiness to march to their respective brigades and batteries at a moment's warning, but will not cross the Chickahominy until they are sent for. All quartermasters and ordnance-officers are to remain with their trains.

“II. In the approaching battle the General Commanding trusts that the troops will preserve the discipline which he has been so anxious to enforce and which they have so generally observed. He calls upon all the officers and soldiers to obey promptly and intelligently all orders they may receive; let them bear in mind that the army of the Potomac has never yet been checked, and let them preserve in battle perfect coolness and confidence, the sure forerunners of success. They must keep well together, throw away no shots, but

aim carefully and low, and above all things rely upon the bayonet. Commanders of regiments are reminded of the great responsibility that rests upon them; upon their coolness, judgment and discretion the destinies of their regiments and success of the day will depend.

“By command of Major-General McCLELLAN.

“S. WILLIAMS, Assistant Adjutant-General.”

The army was now fully impatient, and rumors of the impending battle were rife. The enemy's forces were evidently increasing rapidly in strength, and every balloon reconnoissance showed larger numbers accumulating on his right.

There are three roads which cross the Chickahominy at different points converging upon Richmond. The most southerly of these is the Turnpike, which crosses at Bottom's Bridge, and passes through Seven Pines, which is seven miles from Richmond. Running parallel to this, and three-fourths of a mile to the north, is the Richmond and York River railroad, which, crossing at the railroad bridge, passes through Fair Oaks, six miles from Richmond. Still further to the north, a road crosses New Bridge, passes through Churchtown, and approaches Richmond at an angle with the railroad; this is known as the Nine-mile-road. A cross-road runs nearly parallel with the Chickahominy river from Churchtown, crossing the railroad at right angles with it at Fair Oaks, to Seven Pines on the Turnpike or Williamsburg road. The railroad runs from White House, the base of the army supplies, to Richmond direct; and Fair Oaks, within six miles of Richmond, was obviously a strategic point to be defended at all hazards, since the railroad afforded the most ample means of bringing forward supplies under all contingencies. Why the enemy left the railroad whole when he retired was a problem; but as he had done so, every advantage was to be taken of it.

On the 25th of May, the fourth corps, Keyes, and the third corps, Heintzelman, both under the latter, were ordered to advance to the “seven pines,” on the Williamsburg stage road, seven miles from Richmond. Keyes's corps advanced to Seven Pines, and Heintzelman's remained two miles in advance of Bottom's Bridge. An intrenched camp, consisting of a lunette and supporting abatis was found one-fourth mile in advance of this station, and Casey's division of Infantry with twenty

pieces of artillery had been placed in it. He was now supported by Couch's division. Further down the railroad were the two divisions of Heintzelman's corps.

The position of the army was now that of a letter A inverted, with its point at Bottom's Bridge. The right wing, on the north of the Chickahominy, composed of five divisions. The left wing, on the Richmond side of the river, was composed of four divisions, one behind the other, from Fair Oaks to Bottom's Bridge. The uncertain and shifting stream which ran between these two wings, was to be bridged, in order that both might communicate for mutual support. These bridges were very difficult of construction. This was the state of affairs, May 31, when General Casey's corps was stationed as follows: on the right Naglee's corps extending across the railroad and approaching a point on the river, where General Sumner had erected the grape-vine bridge, in the following order: one hundred and fourth Pennsylvania, Colonel Dows; eleventh Maine, Lieutenant-Colonel Plamstead; fifty-sixth New York, Colonel Van Wyck; fifty-second Pennsylvania, Colonel Dodge; one hundredth New York, Colonel Brown. In the centre Worrell's second brigade (formerly General Keim's), extending from Naglee's left across the Williamsburg road, in the following order: eighty-fifth Pennsylvania, Colonel Howell; one hundred and first Pennsylvania, Colonel Wilson; one hundred and third Pennsylvania, Colonel Lehman; ninety-sixth New York, Colonel Fairman. The left was held by General Palmer's third New York brigade, as follows: eighty-first, Colonel Deforest; eighty-fifth, Colonel Belknap; ninety-second, Colonel Anderson; ninety-eighth, Colonel Durkee. General Couch's corps was mainly on the Williamsburg road, in the rear of Casey. The corps of General Casey was by no means full. Its strength was estimated at about six thousand men. About noon, the enemy, under General Hill, with the brigades of Rhodes, Garland, Rains and Anderson, made a rapid advance, and attacked the intrenched camp with great fury, taking it completely by surprise, and in the words of General Richardson, "brushed away the division of Casey like chaff." The division of Couch had hardly formed in order of battle ere the enemy were upon him with fierce yells, delivering at short range a deadly fire, which was received with steady

courage and with a stubborn resistance, that caused the advancing column to swerve to the right. Abercrombie's brigade supported Naglee, that of Devens sustained Worrell, and General Peck supported Palmer on the left. The enemy in accumulating numbers and mad with fancied success, was pushing between Heintzelman and the river, and his success in this movement would be fatal to the army. Our men stood to their task with a constancy the oldest veterans could not excel, and which neither the evidently superior numbers of the enemy, their determination to win, nor the deadly fire of their sharpshooters, could shake. Nevertheless, the swelling throng of the enemy's columns seemed still to outflank our exhausted line, and at six o'clock disaster was imminent. Sedgwick of Sumner's corps now appeared coming from the bridge which he had built, and went into action to the support of Couch, whose left the enemy had just turned and was, with a strong column, penetrating between him and Heintzelman, two miles from him on the railroad. It appears that General Birney, of Kearney's division, had been ordered by General Heintzelman to advance on the railroad in the direction of Couch one mile, and he did so, but immediately received orders from Kearney to return to his original post. This movement and counter-movement left the opening for the enemy. For this General Birney was relieved of his command by General Heintzelman, but he was reinstated at the request of General Kearney, General Heintzelman ascribing to the inaction of Birney the failure to recapture the artillery from the enemy. Meantime Sedgwick's men coming up, excited with the march, with the din of battle and the pride of anticipated victory flaming in their eyes, went eagerly to the work, and at once smote the head of the enemy's advancing column with a storm of canister shot from twenty-four pieces that turned it completely round. The enemy staggered heavily back under this withering shower. The situation was fatal to them. The division closing up "shoulder to shoulder," in line of battle, moved up with resistless vigor, and the shaken line of the Confederates was driven back effectually. His forward impetus was lost at the first fire, and the long line of avenging bayonets presented by the Union front imparted a retrograde movement to his steps that was not recovered. Richardson's corps then arriving on the left of

Sedgwick, connected with Birney's brigade of Heintzelman's corps on his left; the breach was thus closed and the position was secure for the night. The opportune arrival of Sedgwick alone saved the army from total disaster, since the gallant troops who had so long borne the brunt of overwhelming numbers, were in danger of being overpowered. They could not much longer hold out. A delay of half an hour would have insured total defeat. The enemy captured every thing belonging to Casey's division, camp equipage and batteries. There had been a severe storm of rain on which the enemy had counted, to cause the river to rise so as to prevent crossing the river. The rise did not take place as soon as was calculated upon, and that saved the army.

On Sunday morning at dawn the Confederates occupied the camps of Casey's and Couch's divisions, having their left on the railroad near Fair Oaks. To our right, on the other side of the railroad, the divisions of Generals Richardson and Sedgwick were formed, in a semi-circle, with their left resting on General Hooker's right, at the railroad, and their right flanking the enemy. These divisions were composed of parts of the brigades of General Burns, General French, General T. F. Meagher, with four batteries of artillery.

General Hooker's division was camped in the wood on the Williamsburg road, occupying the centre, and a little in advance of the right and left wings. On the left the remaining portions of Couch's and Casey's divisions rested, with reserves of fresh troops extending to our extreme left, near the middle road, under General Keyes. The plan of the enemy was for Generals Hill and Longstreet to attack in front while General Whiting was to proceed by the nine mile road and to get in the Union rear. General Johnston, in his official report, averred that the combination failed through the tardiness of General Huger, who had recently surrendered Norfolk, in getting into action. At seven o'clock, General Heintzelman ordered Hooker to attack the enemy and drive them from the wood on the extreme left. The attack was commenced by General Hooker leading the fifth and sixth New Jersey, near the railroad, supported on the right by the brigade of Birney, now under the command of Colonel Robert Ward. General Sickles' brigade followed, and a

portion of it having, by order of General Hooker, gone to the left of the Williamsburg road, the artillery found the ground too boggy to get through. The brigade of Sickles finding the enemy showing a firm front before them, after some ineffectual firing, formed a line, and with fixed bayonets performed a charge that won the greatest admiration of both friend and foe, and with a determination and vigor that at once settled the matter in that quarter. The seventy-first and seventy-third New York showed that the bayonet was the true mode of winning ground with little loss. In every instance where it was used, it was followed by little loss, but inflicted great suffering upon the enemy. The example was followed on the right, and the ground trembled beneath the cadenced tread of a long line of firmly determined men, whose swift moving front gleamed with the deadly bayonets before which the enemy's line scattered in confusion. The biting fire which the enemy poured upon them as they advanced, did not for an instant check or retard the irresistible attack. They cleared the woods at once, and the enemy retired, leaving the Union troops masters of the field. About an hour after the firing had ceased, General McClellan arrived on the field.

On Monday General Hooker was ordered to make a reconnaissance in force to the front, and he did so to within four miles of Richmond without resistance, when he was recalled.

During this battle the balloon was overlooking the strife, and was in telegraphic communication with General McClellan at his quarters. The losses on both sides were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Confederate	681	4,303	814	5,798
Union	890	3,627	1,222	5,739

The losses in the third and fourth corps, reported by General Heintzelman, were 3,800 out of 11,000 engaged.

The enemy also, according to General Johnston's report, claimed to have captured 10 pieces of artillery, 6,000 muskets, besides colors, tents and camp equipage. Among the enemy wounded was General Johnston; General Pettigrew, Colonel Lenox and General Norton killed. The Union loss was at first reported at 10,000, but the figures given are those of General McClellan's report. The following

are the despatches forwarded by General McClellan from the field:

"FIELD OF BATTLE, *June 1, 12 o'clock.*

"We have had a desperate battle, in which the corps of Generals Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes have been engaged against greatly superior numbers.

"Yesterday, at one, the enemy, taking advantage of a terrible storm, which had flooded the valley of the Chickahominy, attacked our troops on the right flank.

"General Casey's division, which was in the first line, gave away unaccountably and disunitedly. This caused a temporary confusion, during which the guns and baggage were lost; but Generals Heintzelman and Keyes most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy.

"At the same time, however, I succeeded, by great exertion, in bringing across Generals Sedgwick and Richardson's divisions, who drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead.

"This morning the enemy attempted to renew the conflict, but was everywhere repulsed.

"We have taken many prisoners, among whom is General Pettigrew and Colonel Loring.

"Our loss is heavy, but that of the enemy must be enormous.

"With the exception of General Casey's division the men behaved splendidly.

"Several fine bayonet charges have been made. The Second Excelsior regiment made two to-day."

The following address was read to the army on the evening of the 3d, at dress parade, and was received with an outburst of vociferous cheering from every regiment:

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
"CAMP NEAR NEW BRIDGE, VA., *June 2.*

"SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC:—I have fulfilled at least a part of my promise to you. You are now face to face with the rebels, who are held at bay in front of the capital. The final and decisive battle is at hand. Unless you belie your past history, the result cannot be for a moment doubtful. If the troops who labored so faithfully, and fought so gallantly at Yorktown, and who so bravely won the hard fights at Williamsburg, West Point, Hanover Court-House and Fair Oaks, now prove worthy of their antecedents, the victory is surely ours.

"The events of every day prove your superiority. Wherever you have met the enemy you have beaten him. Wherever you have used the bayonet, he has given way in panic and disorder.

"I ask of you now one last crowning effort. The enemy has staked his all on the issue of the coming battle. Let us meet him and crush him here, in the very centre of the rebellion.

"Soldiers, I will be with you in this battle, and share its dangers with you. Our confidence in each other is now founded upon the

past. Let us strike the blow which is to restore peace and union to this distracted land. Upon your valor, discipline, and mutual confidence the result depends.

"(Signed)

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,
"Major-General Commanding."

This first despatch of General McClellan gave great offence in two particulars; one was in not giving General Sumner proper credit, and the other in the censure cast upon Casey's corps. As a consequence of this, the following despatches were sent forward:

"NEW BRIDGE, June 5, 10.30 A. M.

"To Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"My telegraphic despatch of June 1, in regard to the battle of Fair Oaks, was incorrectly published in the newspapers. I send with this a corrected copy, which I request may be published at once. I am the more anxious about this, since my despatch, as published, would seem to ignore the services of General Sumner, which were too valuable and brilliant to be overlooked, both in the difficult passage of the stream and the subsequent combat. The mistake seems to have occurred in the transmittal of the despatch by the telegraph.

"(Signed)

G. B. McCLELLAN,
"Major-General Commanding."

"THE CORRECTED DESPATCH.

"FIELD OF BATTLE, 12 o'clock, June 1.

"Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"We have had a desperate battle, in which the corps of Sumner, Heintzelman and Keyes have been engaged against greatly superior numbers. Yesterday at one o'clock, the enemy, taking advantage of a terrible storm, which had flooded the valley of the Chickahominy, attacked our troops on the right bank of the river. Casey's division, which was the first line, gave way unaccountably and *discreditably*. This caused a temporary confusion, during which *some* guns and baggage were lost, but Heintzelman and Kearney most gallantly brought up their troops, which checked the enemy. At the same time, however, General Sumner succeeded, by great exertions, in bringing across Sedgwick's and Richardson's divisions, which drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet, covering the ground with his dead. This morning the enemy attempted to renew the conflict, but was everywhere repulsed.

"We have taken many prisoners, among whom are General Pettigrew and Colonel Loring. Our loss is heavy, but the loss of the enemy must be enormous. With the exception of Casey's division, our men behaved splendidly. Several fine bayonet charges have been made. The second Excelsior made two to-day.

"(Signed)

G. B. McCLELLAN, *General Commanding.*"

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, June 5.

"Honorable EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"My despatch of the 1st inst., stating that General Casey's division,

which was in the first line, gave way unaccountably and discreditably, was based upon official statements made to me before I arrived upon the field of battle, and while I was there, by several commanders. From statements made to me subsequently by Generals Casey and Naglee, I am induced to believe that portions of the division behaved well, and made a most gallant stand against superior numbers; but at present the accounts are too conflicting to enable me to discriminate with certainty. When the facts are clearly ascertained, the exceptional good conduct will be properly acknowledged.

“(Signed)

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN,

“Major-General Commanding.”

The despatch correcting the omission in relation to General Sumner being altered in relation to the conduct of Casey's corps, to read “discreditably” instead of “disunitedly” makes the censure more severe: nevertheless, on the same date portions of the division are in the other despatch relieved from censure. The result was, that General F. J. Peck superseded Casey, who was given some employment at White House in the rear. On the day following the battle, the enemy opened with artillery from five batteries upon New Bridge on General Sumner's corps, by which some loss was sustained.

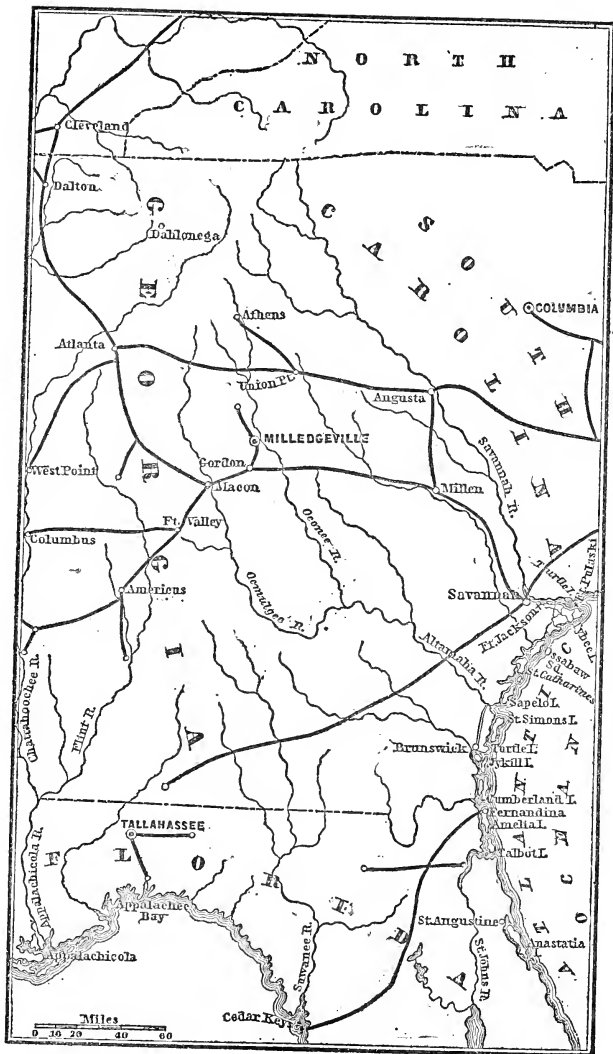
CHAPTER XXIII.

General Jackson's Movement.—Falls back.—General Banks advancing.—General Shields.—Battle at Winchester.—General Banks reports the Flight of Jackson.—Jackson and Johnston unite.—Effect of the fall of Yorktown.—Johnston drives Milroy.—Ewell at Lurey.—Banks falls back.—Shields ordered to join McDowell.—Colonel Kenby defeated at Front Royal.—Forced Retreat of Banks.—He crosses the Potomac in a complete Rout.—Mountain Department.—Fremont supersedes Rosecrans.—Inefficiency of Schenck.—Johnston decoys Milroy.—He follows near Staunton.—Johnston falls upon Milroy.—Pursues him to McDowell.—Schenck joins Milroy.—They lose their Baggage and are defeated.—Retreat upon Franklin.—Blenker's Corps.—Fremont's Corps ordered to support Banks.—Slow Movements.—The object of Jackson's Raid.—Its results.—The Government alarmed.—Fremont's movement.—Call for Fifty Thousand Troops.—Retreat of the Enemy.—Combats.—Harrisonburg.—Cross Keys.—Shields.—Escape of Jackson.—Colonel Miles.—Saxton.—Sigel.—Outrages.—Retreat of Fremont.—McDowell concentrates at Fredericksburg.—Formation of the Army of Virginia under Pope.

WHEN General Jackson, in the beginning of March, fell back before the advance of Banks, thus uncovering the communication by Manassas Gap, between the Confederate army and the resources of the valley, the whole force of the enemy concentrated upon Richmond. The army in front of Manassas fell back to the Rappahannock abandoning Fredericksburg, and that in the valley retreated to Staunton, one hundred miles. The retreat of Jackson was, however, slow, disputing the ground as he went. He abandoned Winchester on the twelfth of March, and it was occupied by General Banks with his advance on the same day that General McClellan assumed the command of the army of the Potomac. On occupying Winchester, General Banks issued an order forbidding all depredations and marauding. This order had become very necessary since the people of the fertile but unfortunate valley were exposed to the alternate operations of both armies. The mission of Jackson in the valley was at that time to cover the retreat of that part of the army, which coming

from Centreville by way of Strasburg, was destined to operate near Staunton, and to protect the road from the valley to Gordonsville, to which point the main body of the Confederates had retreated. That object having been effected by the 15th March, the subsequent movements of Jackson were at his own discretion. On the 17th, a force under General Shields left Winchester in pursuit of the enemy, who retired towards Strasburg. His rear guard was overtaken near Middletown, and with four guns it disputed the ground foot by foot. The main force of Jackson was at Mount Jackson. On the 20th a portion of Shields' reconnoitring force returned to Winchester. The brigade of General Williams at the same time reconnoitred towards Battletown, through which a good turnpike runs from Winchester to Centreville. This movement led Jackson to suppose that the whole army of Banks was about to reinforce McClellan. To prevent this he determined to attack with his whole force at Winchester. Accordingly four regiments of infantry made a forced march from Mount Jackson to Strasburg, and advanced thence on Saturday, the 22d, to the battle ground within three miles of Winchester. This rapid advance of thirty-five miles in two days was without the supply trains, and the advance made their appearance to the Union pickets in the afternoon of Saturday.

About four miles in advance of Winchester on the turnpike to Strasburg, through Middletown, is the village of Kernstown. A mud road branches from the turnpike about midway between Winchester, and runs to the right over Cedar Creek. The fourteenth Indiana was on Saturday, the 22d, picketed on the turnpike half a mile beyond Kernstown, and at half-past two they discovered the enemy's cavalry under Ashby reconnoitering the woods on both sides of the turnpike, and steadily advancing. The Union troops then fell back pursued by the cavalry, occasionally facing about to fire upon the pursuing enemy. General Shields ordered up four companies of infantry, one each of the Maryland first, twenty-eighth Pennsylvania, forty-sixth Pennsylvania, and twenty-eighth New York, to support the fourteenth Indiana, and hold the enemy in check until he could bring forward the division. A battery of artillery was also ordered forward to assist in checking the now advancing enemy, until the division



should arrive. While directing this battery, Shields was wounded in the arm by the splinter of a shell. He however remained on the field until dark, when the troops began to arrive. The enemy were now in advance of Kernstown, and about three miles from Winchester. They however did not press the attack, but bivouacked for the night. This respite was not unwelcome to General Shields, who was waiting for the return of Williams' troops to reinforce him, but these did not arrive until after the action. The Union forces engaged in the battle embraced, with the exception of five hundred men, only the division of Shields (formerly that of Lander), composed of the brigades of Kimball on the right, Tyler in the centre, and Sullivan on the left. Inasmuch as that Shields, in consequence of this wound, did not appear on the field, General Kimball assumed command. The enemy's centre was a little to the left of the turnpike at the village, and his left extended one and three quarter miles west of the road, and his right about one mile to the east of it. The mud road branching from the turnpike passed through his left centre. Beyond this there was a grove of trees, and still further a ridge of hills crowned by a stone wall about breast high. At eight o'clock A. M., on the 23d, the enemy opened with four guns, which were replied to by six. The batteries were then reinforced on both sides. The enemy's guns were so well served that it became necessary to storm them, and the infantry columns of the first and second brigades were massed for an attack upon the enemy's left. General Tyler moved his column on the mud road until he came in front of the stone wall, from which at two hundred yards distance he received a deadly fire; but his unwavering troops pressed on without reply until within fifteen yards, when they delivered their fire with such effect that the enemy fell back across the field, unmasking as they did so two six pound guns, the canister from which tore open our ranks with great havoc, without stopping the advance of the men, who speedily captured one gun with its caisson. Two other brass guns were now unmasked, with such effect that our troops were forced back, upsetting the captured gun as they left it. The fifth Ohio and eighty-fourth Pennsylvania now formed, and advanced with the bayonet. In the desperate en-

counter the Ohio regiment lost its standard bearer five times in a few minutes, Captain Whitecomb among the number. The fourteenth and one hundred and tenth Indiana now advanced at the quick in support, and the enemy fell back again, leaving the captured gun. It was now seven o'clock P. M., and the firing began to slack. The cavalry in pursuit of the enemy captured about 200 prisoners. The men slept upon the battle-field, and awoke to pursue the enemy on the morning of the 24th, when he retired on being attacked. At nine o'clock Major-General Banks arrived on the field from Harper's Ferry, and assumed command. The Union loss in this battle was one hundred and thirty-two killed, five hundred and forty wounded, forty-six missing, total seven hundred and eighteen. The loss of the enemy was estimated at nine hundred, of whom two hundred and thirty-six were prisoners; two guns and four caissons were captured. The enemy had been reinforced at ten o'clock Sunday morning, by General Garnett, and claimed that his whole force was then 6,000, of whom 3,000 were engaged. General Shields reported his own command at 8,000.

The enemy retired beyond Strasburg, which place General Banks held on the 25th March. The enemy continued in the neighborhood occasionally harassing the outpost, until on the 1st April, General Banks resumed his forward movement, reaching Woodstock, which was disputed by Ashby's cavalry and the shells of the enemy. On the same day the advance passed through the town, and on the 2d drove the enemy's rear guard over Stony Creek, near Edenburg. The enemy destroyed bridges as he retired, and Banks rebuilt them with great labor, as he followed. On the 11th his advance under General Shields, who was so far recovered of his wound as to appear on the field in a carriage, was in occupation of Edenburg, head-quarters remaining at Woodstock. The enemy continued at Mount Jackson. The following telegram is indicative of the nature of numerous rumors that were afloat:

"WOODSTOCK, VA., April 13, 1862.

"To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"We learn from Jackson's camp this morning that General Beauregard is dead.

"The report comes direct from rebel sources near Mount Jackson.

"Impressive services were held to-day in all the brigades.

"There is nothing new to report in regard to the enemy.

"N. P. BANKS, *Major-General.*"

The enemy's cavalry continued busy under Ashby, and frequent attacks were made on the lines of communication. On the 17th, Mount Jackson was occupied by the Union forces, Shields and Williams making a combined attack upon it, pushing their pickets five miles beyond. New Market was occupied at the same time. The advance of Banks' column reached on the 18th April, close upon the heels of Jackson's retiring troops, which continued their retreat in the direction of Staunton. On the 20th, General Banks telegraphed as follows :

"NEW MARKET, *April 20, 9 A. M.*

"To Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"The flight of Jackson from the valley by the way of the mountains, from Harrisonburg toward Stannardsville and Orange Court House, on Gordonsville, is confirmed this morning by our scouts and prisoners.

N. P. BANKS,

"*Major-General Commanding.*"

The advance pushed on under General Williams, who held Harrisonburg on the 24th, when his scouts captured some prisoners nine miles beyond. Banks, whose headquarters were at New Market, visited Harrisonburg on the 29th, and while there received news of the capture of New Orleans, an event which, by its influence upon the fate of Yorktown, was to have a great effect upon his own position. The forces under Banks were now about 16,000 men.

At this time Jackson, who had been falling back before Banks, formed a junction with Johnston, who had fallen back from the Mountain Department before the advance of Milroy, who, on the 23d of April, had followed him to within seven miles of Staunton. It had been supposed by the enemy that the Union forces under Fremont and Banks meeting at Staunton, would attempt to drive the Confederates before them until they could form a junction with McDowell east of the mountains, and throw the combined forces upon Richmond. On the other hand, the Union generals anticipated that on the fall of Yorktown, large forces would be released from its defence, and that with these reinforcements, Jackson would sweep the valley

and threaten Washington. This proved to be partially the case. Yorktown, virtually turned by the gunboats, fell on the 5th May. On the 7th, General Johnston left Staunton, and advanced with a strong force against Milroy, driving him back to the mountains. At the same time Jackson advanced fourteen miles, and Ewell, strongly reinforced, made his appearance in the Luray valley to prevent Banks from crossing the Blue Ridge into Eastern Virginia, to join McDowell. Edward Johnston was left to guard the roads round Staunton. In this state of affairs, General Banks fell back, and an order was received for General Shields' corps of 10,000 men, to join McDowell without delay; that officer, being impressed with the idea that Jackson and Johnston were in his front with a large force, was very pressing for reinforcements. Accordingly Shields left New Market May 12, by the road across the Massanutter mountains to Luray, and reached Fredericksburg May 21. At the same time Colonel Geary, who, on leaving Leesburg in March, had been charged with guarding the Manassas railroad between the Junction and Front Royal, a length of fifty miles, and which had been destroyed by the enemy retiring before McClellan's advance in March, was also detached from Banks and ordered to report to McDowell. With these deductions, Banks' force was reduced to about 6,000 men, and he withdrew before the advancing enemy to Strasburg, which General Williams, commanding one division, fifth army corps, was ordered to hold as the key of the valley. The Manassas road, which was essential to the safety of Banks' corps, and its communication with Washington, had been repaired and was reopened May 16, between Manassas and Front Royal. On that day Colonel J. R. Kenby, with one brigade of Williams' division, was sent from Strasburg by General Banks to take command at Front Royal, with instructions to retain the troops under Major Tyndell, belonging to Geary's command. The force was about fourteen hundred men for the protection of the town, which is indefensible without a very large force.

The army of Banks had now retrograded fifty miles from its advanced position, and the enemy were cautiously advancing up the valley. Jackson joined Ewell in the Luray valley, while Smith advanced on the west of the Massanutter mountains towards Strasburg, reaching Eden-

burg, May 17th, on which day deserters came into camp to report that Jackson with his whole force was ordered to move south and abandon Virginia. They also reported the army so demoralized that one half was used to prevent the other from going over to the Union lines. These reports obtained too ready credence, and served their purpose by in some degree throwing the troops off their guard.

The force of Colonel Kenby at Front Royal, consisted of his own regiment, the first Maryland, 775 men; two companies twenty-ninth Pennsylvania; a Pioneer corps; two companies fifth New York cavalry; and a section of Knapp's battery. There were three companies second Massachusetts on the road to Strasburg, and about five miles from that city one company third Wisconsin and one company twenty-seventh Indiana. On the 23d of May, the enemy in large force suddenly appeared at 1 P. M., and captured Kenby's pickets before alarm was given. Colonel Kenby immediately drew up his force; the infantry in line a half mile in rear of the town; the artillery on a crest commanding the approach to the bridges, supported by five companies. Three companies were in the fort. These soon fell back before the advance of Ashby's cavalry supported by five regiments of infantry. After a severe struggle of two hours the men were ordered to retire across the river. This was done, and the smallest of two bridges destroyed. The enemy were upon them, however, before the destruction of the other was effected. An attempt was now made to prevent their crossing, but the cavalry and two regiments forded the stream. The command now retreated, but was overtaken within three miles by the enemy's cavalry, when a fearful fight resulted in the complete destruction of the command and the wounding and capture of Colonel Kenby.

When this disastrous news reached Strasburg, it was deemed greatly exaggerated, but a regiment was sent to reinforce Kenby. Fugitives from the field soon came in, however, confirming the worst tidings. Orders were immediately given to halt the reinforcements, and detachments of troops, under experienced officers, were sent in every direction to explore the roads leading from Front Royal to Strasburg, Middletown and Winchester. It was soon found that his pickets were in possession of every

road, and he in movement, in the rear of his pickets, in the direction of Strasburg.

The advance posts on the Woodstock road, twelve miles, however, found no sign of the enemy. It was therefore evident that his whole force was moving to cut off the division from Winchester. The force was put in motion at 3 A. M. of the 24th, the trains, in front with Colonel Donnelly, Colonel Gordon in the centre, and Colonel Hatch with the rear. The column had advanced but three miles, when the enemy in possession of Middetown, attacked the train and drove it back in confusion. The troops immediately took the front, and after a most severe skirmish resumed the march. In this affair, Colonel Abert, with the Zouaves d'Afrique, were cut off from the main body. The column pushed on, encountering several combats and sustaining losses, until it reached Winchester, where it found the enemy in great force, and an attack was made during the night on the Union left. The numbers of the enemy continued to augment, and after a sharp conflict of five hours the march was resumed to Martinsburg; on the road two squadrons of cavalry were met advancing. At Martinsburg the column halted three hours, and arrived at the Potomac at sundown, forty-eight hours after the reception of the first news of the attack upon Front Royal. This was a distance of fifty-three miles, of which thirty-five were made in one day. The loss was 38 killed, 155 wounded, 711 missing; total, 905. On the 26th, General Banks telegraphed:

"WILLIAMSPORT, *May 26th.*

"Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"We believe that our whole force, trains and all, will cross in safety. The men are in fine spirits, and crossing in good order. The labor of last night was fearful. The enemy followed us last night on our march, but has not made his appearance this morning. The news of our movements South has unquestionably caused them to look out for their safety. Your despatch was read to the troops this morning amid the heartiest cheers.

"N. P. BANKS, *Major-General Commanding.*"

The enemy did not follow with much vigor beyond Winchester, although a cavalry force harassed the retreat nearly to Martinsburg. Thus in exactly three months from the day he had crossed the Potomac, he had followed the enemy one hundred miles to Staunton, and in the last

three weeks the remnant of the corps had been driven before him over the Potomac, a complete rout.

When General McClellan was transferred from the command of Western Virginia to the chief command on the Potomac, July, 1861, General Rosecrans was appointed to succeed him in Virginia, and he continued in that command until the 29th of March, when he was superseded by General Fremont. During the administration of Rosecrans, the department had been free from the enemy, and under the firm and conciliatory rule of the chief, the activity of the guerrillas subsided, and the union sentiment of the population was developed and confirmed. General Fremont, it will be borne in mind, was deprived of his command in Missouri, Nov. 8th, and remained until the latter part of March in retirement, although great exertions were used to procure for him a new appointment. It was finally determined to annex Eastern Tennessee and Kentucky to the department of Western Virginia, and erect it into "the mountain department," of which General Fremont* was assigned the command, and on the 29th of March, he arrived at Wheeling. On the same day General Rosecrans took leave of the troops in a general order. The northern portion of the new department was called the railroad district, and the command conferred upon Briga-

* John Charles Fremont was born in Savannah, Ga., on the 21st of January, 1813. His father was a Frenchman, who had settled in Norfolk, Va., as a teacher of the French language. His mother was a native of Virginia. When fifteen years of age he entered Charleston College, and made good progress, until expelled for some irregularity. He then procured a situation as private teacher of mathematics. In 1833 he was appointed instructor in the same branch on board the U. S. sloop-of-war Natchez, and sailed in that vessel on a cruise for two years. Afterwards he was connected with several expeditions. In 1840 he became acquainted with Miss Benton, daughter of Senator Benton, of Missouri, whom he subsequently married. His Rocky Mountain explorations and adventures in the then unknown region lying between them and the Pacific Ocean are fresh in the minds of the public. He was made Governor of California in 1846. He bought the rich Mariposa estate in 1847. He was elected senator of the United States the following year. In 1850 Baron Von Humboldt, on behalf of the king of Prussia, sent him the great golden medal for progress in the sciences. He was also elected member of several distinguished scientific societies in Europe. In 1856 he was nominated for president, but was defeated by Mr. Buchanan. When the rebellion broke out Mr. Fremont was in Europe, and hastened home to tender his services. He received the appointment of major-general of the Western Department, in which capacity he served until recalled on the 2d of November. Subsequently appointed to the command of the Mountain Department, which he resigned upon being placed under General Pope.

dier-General Kelly. On the assumption of command by General Fremont, the guerrillas became more active, and many sudden attacks were made upon the exposed points. In the beginning of April, General Fremont's head-quarters were at Wheeling; General Schenck's corps was at Moorfield, west of Hunting mountain, and on the road to Winchester. He was employed in building bridges that had been destroyed, and in restoring communication with the valley that had been interrupted by the enemy. General Milroy was at Franklin, whence several roads cross the mountains to the valley, one running to Staunton, another forty miles to Harrisouburg, a third fifty miles to New Market. The enemy 3,500 strong, constructed fortifications, with rifled cannon, on the crest of the mountain commanding these routes. The enemy also threatened him at Monterey on the south, and menaced his communication (burning the bridges) with Schenck at Moorfield. On the 13th of April, they drove in his pickets at Monterey, and after a sharp skirmish retired. On the 17th, Schenck sent through an expedition from Moorfield, which restored the communication. The enemy under Johnston then fell back from the mountains, followed by Milroy, who on the 23d, came up with his rear guard ten miles east of the mountain, and at the limit of the department, inflicting loss upon him. He sent scouts within seven miles of Staunton, to which place the enemy had retired. General Cox, who had been operating in Giles county to reach the Tennessee and Virginia railroad, advanced on Parisburg, April 30th, and after three sharp engagements, drove the enemy out of Greenbrier, Mercer and Giles counties.

Little change took place in the position of affairs in this quarter until soon after the fall of Yorktown, May 5, a sudden augmentation of the enemy's forces was apparent, and they resumed offensive. On the 7th May Johnston advanced against Milroy, who fell back on the road to Franklin until he reached McDowell, which is situated at the foot of the mountain. The whole force of Milroy consisted of six regiments, viz.: the second and third Virginia, the seventy-fifth, seventy-third, thirty-second and twenty-fifth Ohio. Of these one regiment was sixteen miles in advance towards Staunton, two were ten miles in advance, and the remaining three were at McDowell. The pickets of the advance regiment were driven in at

noon of the 8th, by the approaching force of Johnston. It fell back upon the other two, and all retired upon McDowell, closely followed by the enemy, who came up by six in the evening, and immediately attacked. Milroy disposed his forces in front of the mountain in an ineffective manner, with five batteries on elevated ground in the rear. The onset of the enemy was firmly met, and the battle was general until 7 o'clock, when Schenck's column appeared on the ground after a march of thirty-four miles through Franklin, which it had left at 10½ o'clock, A. M. These exhausted men were, by some mistake of the commander, exposed to a severe attack at great disadvantage. The battle raged with renewed vigor, the enemy pressing on with fresh troops, until 9 P. M., when orders were given to retire. In the mean time a force of the enemy captured the baggage train, which was, through the neglect of Milroy, at Monterey in the rear. The retreat was directed upon Franklin, the enemy following closely and skirmishing vigorously for two or three days. Meantime Fremont was advancing with his whole force upon Franklin, which place he reached on the 13th, having been joined by the corps of Blenker. This corps was to have reported in March, but it had spent forty days in fruitless marches in the mountains, exposed to every hardship, and reached Winchester only at the beginning of May, in an exhausted condition. Finally, on the 10th of May, they entered the department to the aid of Fremont, who remained at Franklin recruiting his men. The loss in Milroy's command had been thirty-seven killed, one hundred and sixty wounded. The loss of the enemy was supposed to be about equal.

On the 24th May General Fremont received a despatch from the war department, directing him, with his entire command, to march to the support of General Banks, and at daylight on the 25th the troops commenced breaking camps, by regiments, and by 12 o'clock in that day the whole army of over twenty thousand men were on the move. No one outside the general's confidential advisers of course knew the object of the move.

The march for the first twenty miles was slow and hard. The roads were rutted as deep as they could be, and the heavy artillery was dragged along with great difficulty—many of the pieces requiring six, eight and

even ten horses. The first day's journey was to the upper crossing of the south branch of the Potomac—the place where the rebels had burned the bridge, and which we were obliged to span with a pontoon.

On the night of the 31st the advance under Milroy reached a position four miles from Strasburg, and on the same day General Shields, as the advance of McDowell, coming from Fredericksburg on the same errand, reached Front Royal. Thus Milroy, driven back from Staunton on the 7th of May, when the troops of Jackson swept down the valley, swooped upon Kenby at Front Royal, and drove Banks over the Potomac, had in the space of eighteen days, wandered more than one hundred miles, again appeared in Jackson's front, as the advance of Fremont forming a junction, but too late, with Shields and McDowell to drive back the invader.

The sudden irruption of Jackson had caused great alarm in Washington. The numbers of his troops were greatly exaggerated, and it was supposed that he intended to attack the capital, and carry the war into the free States. The real object of his movement may in some degree be indicated in the following :

“HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
May 27, 1862, 9 o'clock, 15 minutes.

“To General T. J. JACKSON :

“GENERAL:—I have just received your letter of yesterday, by Lieutenant Boswell. A copy of a despatch telegraphed by that officer from Staunton reached me this morning. After reading, I wrote to you by a special messenger, suggesting a movement threatening Washington and Baltimore, unless the enemy still has in your vicinity force enough to make it rash to attempt it. He has no force beyond the Potomac to make it dangerous; only what he has on this side need be considered.

“You cannot, in your present position, employ such an army as yours, upon any enterprise not bearing directly upon the state of things here, either by preventing the reinforcements to McClellan's army, or by drawing troops from it by divisions. These objects might be accomplished by the demonstrations proposed above, or by a movement upon McDowell, although I fear that by the time this reaches you it will be too late for either. The most important service you can render the country is the preventing the further strengthening of McClellan's army. If you find it too late for that, strike the most important body of the enemy you can reach. You compel me to publish orders announcing your success so often that you must expect repetition of expressions.

“Yours very truly,

“J. E. JOHNSTON.”

At nearly the same date as this despatch General McClellan continued calling for reinforcements, representing that the force of the enemy in his front was superior to his own, and that the force under General McDowell would do more for the protection of Washington, if sent to his army, than in any other position in which it could be placed. In a letter written on the 21st of May, he asks that General McDowell's corps be sent him by water rather than by land, as the more expeditious mode, and that he and his forces be explicitly placed under his orders, "in the ordinary way." He closes his letter by saying:

"I believe there is a great struggle before this army, but I am neither dismayed nor discouraged. I wish to strengthen its force as much as I can; but, in any event, I shall fight it with all the skill, and caution, and determination that I possess. And I trust that the result may either obtain for me the permanent confidence of my Government, or that it may close my career."

In reply to the request of General McClellan that General McDowell should join his forces by water, the President states, on the 21st of May:

"McDowell can reach you by land sooner than he could get aboard of boats, if the boats were ready at Fredericksburg, unless his march shall be resisted, in which case the force resisting him will not be confronting you at Richmond. By land he will reach you in five days after starting; whereas, by water, he would not reach you in two weeks, judging by past experience. Franklin's single division did not reach you in ten days after I ordered it."

Preparations were accordingly made for General McDowell to leave Fredericksburg on the 25th of May, to join General McClellan. Just at that time, however, Jackson commenced his expedition down the Shenandoah Valley, and General McDowell, together with General Fremont, from Western Virginia, was sent to the assistance of General Banks, and to intercept Jackson in his retreat. Upon being informed of this, General McClellan replied that the movement of Jackson was probably intended to prevent reinforcements being sent to him. The President replied, giving him information as to the condition of affairs in the valley, and closed by saying:

"If McDowell's force was now beyond our reach we should be utterly helpless. Apprehensions of something like this, and no unwillingness to sustain you, has always been my reason for withhold-

ing McDowell's force from you. Please understand this, and do the best you can with the forces you now have."

The government immediately ordered the concentration of McDowell and Fremont in aid of Banks, and at the same time telegraphed to Pennsylvania, New York, and New England, for fifty thousand additional troops for the defence of the capital. The order was promptly complied with. It reached New York on Sunday, and on Monday morning the seventh regiment was already on its way to Washington, and was immediately followed by other regiments. When General Fremont received the order, May 24, he was at Franklin, from which several roads lead on to the route of Jackson. There is the road running south-east to Staunton, forty miles, by which Johnston had driven Milroy. There is also a road running east across the dry river gap, forty miles to Harrisonburg. These two roads were watched by Johnston. Further to the north was the road crossing the mountains to New Market, sixty miles. This road was guarded by Smith, who had returned from Strasburg for the purpose when Jackson marched on Winchester. By either of these roads it was practicable for Fremont to débouch on the rear of Jackson, and effectually cut off his retreat. He, however, pursued the road leading northward, and which débouches in the valley by Brent's Gap, north of Strasburg. Seven days were occupied in this laborious march of one hundred miles, over the worst possible roads, and the time so consumed enabled Jackson to make good his retreat. McDowell's corps coming from Fredericksburg reached Front Royal on the same day, and prepared to advance up the Luray valley.

Jackson, aware of these movements on his flanks, having advanced to Winchester and finding that Banks had got his troops across the Potomac, immediately began to retire. The emergency required all his skill and activity. In a few hours the forces of McDowell and Fremont, advancing on both flanks, would form a junction and close the door behind him. On the 29th, he sent back his trains and prisoners. On the morning of the 30th, his advance left camp and reached Middletown at night. On Saturday morning he was in Strasburg, his train having previously passed through. On the same day, Ewell, with the rear guard which had been threatening Harper's Ferry

to the last moment, marched thirty-four miles and encamped at Middletown. The corps of Fremont, having made a long forced march over bad roads without means of transportation, were not in a condition to press the enemy who was thus slipping off. On Sunday, June 1st, Jackson turned fiercely upon Fremont's advance under Milroy, which after six or eight hours' cannonade, fell back exhausted of ammunition. During this combat, Jackson's main column was filing to the rear. On Monday morning, June 2d, Milroy having been reinforced by Blenker and part of Bayard's brigade, of McDowell's corps, pushed on to Strasburg, but found it evacuated. Jackson was already near Woodstock. The union advance overtook the rear guard under Ewell, at about one mile and a half from Strasburg. The enemy occupied a strong position, well defended by artillery; a cannonade of some hours produced no marked results. In the afternoon, Ewell retreated through Woodstock, closely pursued by Fremont's advance, which reached Mount Jackson on the afternoon of the 5th, driving out the enemy's pickets. The pursuit of our cavalry was delayed by the removal of a few planks from a little bridge just outside the town, which gave the enemy's pickets time to cross the river, about a mile out, and fire the bridge behind them.

The rear guard of the enemy, about three thousand men, drew up on a hill a mile or so from the river, resting there with provoking coolness. They put a section of artillery into position, and threw two or three shells at us, which fell short. We returned the fire with howitzers and Parrott guns, but without reaching them or disturbing their equanimity.

A pontoon bridge, replacing the bridge burnt by the enemy, was completed, and part of General Fremont's force crossed June 4th, and at 2 o'clock on the 7th, reached Harrisonburg on the heels of the retiring enemy. A cavalry force was sent forward to reconnoitre. It was met by a sharp encounter of infantry, resulting in a repulse of the first New Jersey, and the capture of Colonel Wyndham. General Bayard was sent forward to support the cavalry, and his attack was successful, driving out the enemy and capturing his camp and stores. The Bucktail regiment suffered severely in this encounter, being driven back with a loss of fifty-five, among them its Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Kane, who was wounded and captured. General Fremont made the following report of the affair:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY IN THE FIELD,
"HARRISONBURG, June 7, 1862, 9 P. M.

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"The attack upon the enemy's rear of yesterday, precipitated his retreat. Their loss in killed and wounded was very severe.

"Their retreat is by an almost impassable road, along which many wagons were left in the woods, and wagon loads of blankets, clothing, and other equipments are piled up in all directions.

"During the evening, many of the rebels were killed by shells from a battery of General Stahl's brigade.

"General Ashby, who covered the retreat with his whole cavalry force and three regiments of infantry, and who exhibited admirable skill and audacity, was among the killed.

"General Milroy made a reconnoissance to-day, about seven miles on the Port Republic road, and discovered a portion of the enemy's forces encamped in the timber.

"(Signed) J. C. FREMONT, *Major-General.*"

The reported death of Ashby was a delusion. There had seldom been a sharp encounter with the enemy, without a report of the death of some prominent leader. On the 8th, the pursuit was renewed, and seven miles beyond Harrisonburg the enemy was discovered posted in a wood, at a place called Cross Keys, five miles from the river at Port Republic, where there was a bridge, over which lay the line of the enemy's retreat, and which it was the business of Shields' corps, coming up the Luray valley, to destroy. When the position of the enemy was descried, the union troops were formed on a line of two miles by Colonel Abert, Chief of Staff; General Schenck on the right, General Milroy in the centre, Blenker on the left, with the brigades of Stahl and Bayard in reserve. In this order the troops advanced down into the valley and up the slopes, where the enemy were posted. The left became first engaged and was severely handled, and retired to a stronger position. The right encountered the most strenuous efforts to turn its flank, but resisted with the most heroic resolution against all the assaults of the enemy. With the approach of night, the combat ceased. The troops encamped on the field, as did also the enemy, who held the battle ground with the dead and wounded, although the union troops bivouacked where they first formed line. The enemy, who had sent his trains forward the previous Friday, decamped during the night, and by

morning, which was foggy, he had crushed Shields' advance, passed the bridge, and burned it before 10 A. M. The union loss in the affair was one hundred and twenty-five killed, five hundred wounded. General Fremont's report was as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT,
"PORT REPUBLIC, *June 9—12 M.*

"To Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"There was no collision with the enemy after dark last night. This morning we renewed the march against him, entering the woods in battle order, his cavalry appearing on our flanks. General Blenker had the left, General Milroy the right, and General Schenck the centre, with a reserve of General Stahl's brigade and General Bayard's. The enemy was found to be in full retreat on Port Republic, and our advance found his rear guard barely across the river, and the bridge in flames. Our advance came in so suddenly that some of his officers, remaining on this side, escaped with the loss of their horses.

"A cannonading during the forenoon apprised us of an engagement, and I am informed here that Jackson attacked General Shields this morning, and, after a severe engagement, drove him down the river, and is now in pursuit. I have sent an officer with a detachment of cavalry, to open communication with General Shields.

"This morning detachments were occupied in searching the grounds covered by yesterday's action at Cross Keys, for our remaining dead and wounded. I am not yet fully informed, but think that one hundred and twenty-five will cover our loss in killed, and five hundred that in wounded. The enemy's loss we cannot clearly ascertain. He was engaged during the night carrying off his dead and wounded in wagons. This morning, on our march, upwards of two hundred of his dead were counted in one field, the greater part badly mutilated by cannon shot. Many of his dead were also scattered through the woods, and many had been already buried. A number of prisoners had been taken during the pursuit.

"I regret to have lost many good officers. General Stahl's brigade was in the hottest part of the field, which was the left wing. From the beginning of the fight, the brigade lost in officers five killed and seventeen wounded; and one of his regiments alone—the eighth New York—has buried sixty-five. The Garibaldi Guard, next after suffered most severely, and following this regiment, the forty-fifth New York, the Bucktail Rifles, of General Bayard's and General Milroy's brigades. One of the Bucktail companies has lost all of its officers, commissioned and non-commissioned.

"The loss in General Schenck's brigade was less, although he inflicted severe loss on the enemy, principally by artillery fire.

"Of my staff, I lost a good officer killed, Captain Nicholas Dunnka.

"Many horses were killed in our batteries, which the enemy repeatedly attempted to take, but were repulsed by canister fire generally.

"I feel myself permitted to say that all our troops, by their endurance of this severe march, and their splendid conduct in the battle,

are entitled to the President's commendations, and the officers throughout behaved with great gallantry and efficiency, which requires that I should make particular mention of them, and which, I trust, will receive the particular notice of the President as soon as possible. I will send in a full report, but, in this respect, I am unable to make any more particular distinction than that pointed out in the description of the battle. Respectfully,

"J. C. FREMONT, *Major-General Commanding.*"

"HEAD-QUARTERS, MOUNTAIN DEPARTMENT,
"HARRISONBURG, VA., *June 10th.*"

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"In my despatch of yesterday, I omitted to state that Colonel Cluseret's brigade, consisting of the sixtieth Ohio and eighth Virginia, afterward supported by the Garibaldi Guard, formed our advance, and commenced the battle of Cross Keys by sharp skirmishing at nine o'clock in the morning. During the day, they obtained possession of the enemy's ground, which was disputed foot by foot, and only withdrew at evening when ordered to retire to a suitable position for the night.

"The skill and gallantry displayed by Cluseret, on this and frequent former occasions during the pursuit in which we have been engaged, deserve high praise. Respectfully,

"(Signed) J. C. FREMONT, *Major-General.*"

While Fremont was thus pressing Jackson in the valley west of the Massanutten mountains, Shields had been slowly advancing in the Luray valley, but as we have seen, too late to shut the upper door of the valley at Port Republic, as Fremont had been too late to shut that at Strasburg. On the 31st, a part of McDowell's advance had reached Front Royal under Bayard, and had joined Fremont's forces. June 1st, the division of Ord, composed of Rickett's and Hartsford's brigades, arrived, and found there a detachment of Shields' division, the main portion of which had already marched up the valley, and on the 4th, at Luray, issued the following circular:

"HEAD-QUARTERS SHIELDS' DIVISION,
"LURAY, VA., *June 4, 1862.*

"[*Circular*].

"The enemy is on the other side of the mountain near Newmarket. The cannon of our friends can be heard. Are we to lay down in Luray and take no part in this glorious cause? No! He must never be permitted to leave the valley. Let officers who are afraid to advance resign. I will fill their places with braver men. Let soldiers who are afraid of their calling make it known, and they can remain at Luray. Let those who are ready to dash forward through mud and water, to intercept the retreat of an insolent foe, who dare to in-

sult our capital, follow me. Jackson and his crew must never leave this valley except as prisoners.

“(Signed)

JAMES SHIELDS, *Major-General*

“*Commanding Division.*”

At the date of this circular, Fremont was pressing Ewell at Mount Jackson. In pursuance of Shields' order, Colonel Carroll, of the fourth Ohio brigade, advanced eight miles to Columbia bridge, which had been burned by the retiring enemy. Some delay occurred, when the brigade resumed its march to Conrad's store, twenty-two miles distant. A violent storm and fall of rain set in, which swelled Naked creek to an impassable stream after the seventh Indiana, which was in the advance, had crossed it. By this means the brigade was cut in two, and so remained two days and nights until Saturday, the 7th, when the march was resumed, accompanied by the trains which had now come up. At 6 o'clock on Sunday morning, the advance reached Port Republic. General Carroll at once rode into the town, and after a sharp skirmish, captured an aid of General Jackson. He determined to hold the bridge instead of burning it. At this time the battle was in progress at Cross Keys. At night, General Tyler, with the third brigade and twelve guns, arrived and took command. In the morning it was proposed, under cover of the fog, which was very heavy, to burn the bridge, but it was deemed impossible. When the fog cleared away at 6 o'clock, it appeared that the enemy had in the night planted twenty guns, overlooking the place. From these he opened with great energy. A line of battle was formed, Carroll on the right, Tyler on the left. The enemy now coming from Cross Keys, which they had left in the night, with an overwhelming charge drove back Tyler's force, capturing his guns. After sustaining a severe struggle against overwhelming numbers until 10 o'clock, Tyler ordered a retreat, Carroll covering the rear. The enemy pressed heavily on the broken columns which fell into disorder, and retired rapidly, closely pushed by Jackson, who had burned the bridge to prevent being followed by Fremont. While these events were transpiring, the brigade of Kimball was twenty-five miles distant, at Columbia bridge, and that of Ferry still further in the rear, and were therefore not within supporting distance. After a retreat of ten miles, the weary column met Shields advan-

cing to its relief, and five miles further the balance of his command was met, when the whole retired upon Luray, and Fremont retired upon Mount Jackson. Thus five days after the address issued by Shields at Luray, his force encountered a severe reverse, and Jackson was at liberty to pursue his way unmolested.

While these events were transpiring, Colonel Miles, who occupied Harper's Ferry, sent forward on the 26th of May a battalion to reinforce Banks at Winchester, but Banks had then reached Williamsport, and the troops returned to Harper's Ferry, the command of which was assumed the same day by General Saxton, whose force was raised to about 7,000 strong through the arrival of the seventy-eighth New York, the one hundred and ninth Pennsylvania, with some other troops. With these General Saxton occupied Bolivar and Maryland Heights, and sent a small force to reconnoitre Loudon Heights, where a force of the enemy was reported. Another force sent towards Charleston, was repulsed with loss. The command of Ewell was kept very active, and continual demonstrations made as if to cross into Maryland, while preparations were made for a retreat, which began on Saturday, May 31st, and was pushed thirty-four miles to Middletown the same night. Towards noon on the same day a reconnoitring party, sent forward by Saxton, discovered that the bird had flown, but General Saxton did not deem it prudent to follow. On Monday, June 2d, General Sigel assumed command, and proceeded to organize his force, for which many regiments had been recruited. Considerable delay occurred in the forwarding of these regiments, and Sigel remained inactive while General Banks was exerting himself to recuperate his shattered column. Fremont, when he fell back to Mount Jackson, formed his line across the valley from the Massanutten mountain with his right at North mountain, south of Mill creek. The lines of the enemy were five miles distant.

The loudest complaints were made against the conduct of Fremont's troops, particularly those of Blenker's brigade, whose destructive propensities distinguished neither friend nor foe. General Fremont, therefore, on the 13th of June, issued an address, denouncing "the excesses and wanton outrages upon property. There seems to be an organized band of stragglers and plunderers who precede and follow

the army, having outrage and plunder for their especial occupation." He ordered that all parties detected in these outrages should be shot. The cause of these complaints had the worst effect upon popular sentiment in that region.

The enemy were now once more receiving reinforcements, and Mount Jackson, exposed on either flank, being no longer tenable, Fremont fell back to Strasburg, where extensive fortifications were erected. The force in the valley was now, June 20th, well concentrated. Fremont at Strasburg, Banks at Middletown, and Sigel a few miles east of it, on the hill towards Front Royal. Shields was again on his way to Fredericksburg with McDowell's corps, the valley dangers being now it was supposed passed. The first brigade of Williams' division, formerly commanded by Donnelly, was now under General Crawford, who had been assistant-surgeon at Fort Sumter under Anderson. The brigade was disposed on the road from Winchester to Front Royal, replacing Kenly's which had been destroyed in the Confederate advance in May. There had been, when the Union troops followed Jackson up the valley, a large accumulation of stores at Front Royal; the threatening appearance of the enemy now induced the withdrawal of those stores, which were sent to Winchester. In this position of affairs, a new change was made in the command of the department. June 23d it was ordered that the forces under Major-Generals Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, should be consolidated into one army, called the Army of Virginia, and Major-General Pope was especially assigned by the President to the chief command. The forces under General Fremont constituted the first army corps, to be commanded by General Fremont. The forces under General Banks constituted the second army corps, to be commanded by him. The forces under General McDowell constituted the third army corps, to be commanded by him.

The order was received in camp June 26th, and apparently gave satisfaction to all the parties except General Fremont, under whom Pope had served in Missouri, and between these two generals a strong enmity existed. General Fremont therefore asked for ten days' leave of absence, which was refused. He then asked to be relieved

of his command, and this request was promptly granted in the following order :

“WAR DEPARTMENT, *June 27, 1862.*

“Major-General John C. Fremont having requested to be relieved from the command of the first army corps of the Army of Virginia, because, as he says, the position assigned him by the appointment of Major-General Pope as Commander-in-chief of the Army of Virginia is subordinate and inferior to those heretofore held by him, and to remain in the subordinate command now assigned would, as he says, largely reduce his rank and consideration in the service.

“It is ordered that Major-General John C. Fremont be relieved from command.

“Second, that Brigadier-General Rufus King be, and he is hereby assigned to the command of the first army corps of the Army of Virginia, in place of General Fremont, relieved.

“By order of the President.

“EDWIN M. STANTON, *Secretary of War.*”

On the receipt of this despatch General Fremont turned over his command to Brigadier-General Schenck, and left for New York. General King declined the command of the first corps, preferring to remain with his brigade, and General Sigel was assigned to the command.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Continued operations against Richmond.—Defences and Approaches.—Grand review of troops.—Combat, June 25th.—McClellan's despatch.—Mechanicsville.—Gaines' Mills.—Stoneman's corps.—Change of base.—White Oak Swamp.—Malvern Hill.—McClellan addresses the troops.—Jefferson Davis's Address.—Close of campaign.

It will be remembered that the concentrated attack upon General Casey's corps at Fair Oaks took place May 31st, being the same day on which Jackson, having driven Banks across the Potomac, commenced his retreat up the valley of the Shenandoah before the combined forces of Fremont and McDowell, who had been sent to the succor of Banks. In fact, McDowell's advance had reached Front Royal on the same day that Casey was attacked at Fair Oaks. It appears, then, that while McClellan was feeling his way towards McDowell at Fredericksburg, by extending his right to the north of Richmond, and had reached within a few miles of his left, Jackson, by his rapid advance up the valley, created an alarm at Washington, which resulted in hurrying McDowell from the aid of McClellan into the valley, which he reached on the same day that a vigorous attack upon McClellan's left compelled him to weaken his right. The two armies that were upon the point of junction were thus violently drawn asunder in opposite directions. The retreat of Jackson disengaged McDowell, who returned to Fredericksburg, when McCall's division was, June 6th, detached from him and sent to McClellan. He was in need of more support. The command of Fortress Monroe having been restored to him, he drew thence some 6,000 men. Jackson, having escaped from the valley, might be expected to reinforce Lee at Richmond.

General McClellan wrote to the Secretary of War, June 2d:

"The enemy attacked in force and with great spirit yesterday morn-

ing, but are everywhere most signally repulsed with great loss. Our troops charged frequently on both days, and uniformly broke the enemy. The result is, that our left is within four miles of Richmond. I only wait for the river to fall to cross with the rest of the force and make a general attack. Should I find them holding firm in a very strong position, I may wait for what troops I can bring up from Fortress Monroe. But the *morale* of my troops is now such that I can venture much. I do not fear for odds against me. The victory is complete, and all credit is due to the gallantry of our officers and men."

On the 8th of June General McClellan telegraphed: "I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward and take Richmond the moment that McCall reaches here, and the ground will admit the passage of artillery." On the 10th or 11th of June McCall's troops commenced arriving at the White House. There arrived also two regular United States batteries from Fredericksburg, and a regular cavalry regiment from Fortress Monroe. The enemy, after the battle of Fair Oaks, busied himself in multiplying fortifications around Richmond, and in extending them towards the Union lines. A double row of earthworks gradually rose in front of the Union lines on the west of the Chickahominy.

The army of McClellan was also busy with the spade, and continued gradually to close the circle. Every advance movement of the pickets was obstinately resisted by the enemy. By the 13th June there were nine bridges across the Chickahominy, and the pickets of the whole line made daily approaches, carrying forward the trenches and extending the lines of communication with *dépôts* at White House. The first parallel or zigzag extended three miles over hill and through wood. The left was in an impassable swamp, and the right between the enemy and the river. Its general course was about four and a half miles from Richmond. A cannonade was kept up at different points as the batteries on opposite sides became annoying. West Point, at the head of York River, was the base where supplies arrived from the north and from Fortress Monroe. Below this point *via* White House, the trains ran daily twenty miles to the front of the army to the supply *dépôts*, from whence hundreds of wagons came and went continually to distribute food to the brigades and regiments. The accommodation for this immense work was limited at West Point, and the utmost regularity was

required to prevent delay, which would occasion great suffering to the troops.

The enemy, meantime, were not idle. He was rapidly accumulating his force, but was illy provided with arms, and sought by every means to make good the deficiency. In many of the regiments there were numbers of men who went into battle without weapons, trusting to the chance of providing themselves on the field, and many enterprises were undertaken with that object. It being determined to make a reconnoissance of the Federal position, General Stuart, with the first, fourth, and ninth Virginia cavalry; the Jeff. Davis troop, and two guns of the flying artillery, started June 12th, and reached Ashland at night, to encamp. At daybreak of the 13th, the march was resumed with great vigor, and by noon of the 15th they completed the circuit of the Federal position, by way of Hanover Court-House, Old Church, Tunstall's Station, New Kent, across the Chickahominy by the Charles City Court-House road and back into the lines, skirmishing vigorously by the way. They claimed to have destroyed 200 laden wagons, three large transports at White House, captured 170 prisoners, 300 horses, and a large amount of army stores, &c., losing but one man. The Union loss was estimated at \$3,000,000. The information gained by the raid was necessary to the projected attack upon the Union lines. It caused great sensation at the North.

The enemy were now organizing and concentrating their troops in great force. The conscripts under the act of April 15, were coming freely into camp, and every effort was made to give them consistence and to inspire them for the work before them. To this end General Longstreet issued the following proclamation:

“HEAD-QUARTERS RIGHT WING,

“ARMY BEFORE RICHMOND, *June 17, 1862.*

“SOLDIERS: You have marched out to fight the battles of your country, and by those battles must you be rescued from the shame of slavery. Your foes have declared their purpose of bringing you to beggary; and avarice, their national characteristic, incites them to redoubled efforts for the conquest of the South, in order that they may seize their sunny fields and happy homes. Already has the hatred of one of their great leaders attempted to make the negro your equal by declaring his freedom. They care not for the blood of babes nor carnage of innocent women which servile insurrection thus stirred up may bring upon their heads. Worse than this, the

North has sent forth another infamous chief, encouraging the lust of his hirelings to the dishonor and violation of those Southern women who have so untiringly labored to clothe our soldiers in the field and nurse our sick and wounded. If ever men were called upon to defend the beloved daughters of their country, that now is our duty. Let such thoughts nerve you up to the most dreadful shock of battle, for were it certain death, death would be better than the fate that defeat would entail upon us all. But remember though the fiery noise of the battle is indeed most terrifying, and seems to threaten universal ruin, it is not so destructive as it seems, and few soldiers after all are slain. This the commanding general desires particularly to impress upon the fresh and inexperienced troops who now constitute a part of this command. Let officers and men, even under the most formidable fire, preserve a quiet demeanor and self-possessed temper. Keep cool, obey orders and aim low. Remember while you are doing this, and driving the enemy before you, your comrades may be relied on to support you on either side, and are in turn relying upon you. Stand well to your duty, and when these clouds break away, as they surely will, the bright sunlight of peace falling upon our free, virtuous and happy land, will be a sufficient reward for the sacrifices which we are now called upon to make.

"JAMES LONGSTREET,
"Major-General commanding."

Preparations continued to be made in Washington to send down by land from Fredericksburg, the remainder of General McDowell's corps, he being directed to co-operate fully with General McClellan, but retaining an independent command. This does not appear to have been in accordance with General McClellan's wishes; for, on the 16th of June, he telegraphs to the Secretary of War:

"It ought to be distinctly understood that McDowell and his troops are completely under my control. I received a telegram from him requesting that McCall's division might be placed so as to join him immediately upon his arrival. That request does not breathe the proper spirit; whatever troops come to me must be disposed of so as to do the most good. I do not feel that in such circumstances as those in which I am now placed, General McDowell should wish the general interest to be sacrificed for the purpose of increasing his command. If I cannot fully control his troops, I want none of them, but would prefer to fight the battle with what I have, and let others be responsible for the results."

On the 18th of June, General McClellan telegraphs to the Secretary of War, that he has received information from deserters to the effect that troops have left Richmond to reinforce Jackson; that the movement commenced on the 8th; and that if reinforcements have gone to Jackson, they are probably not less than 10,000 men; that he

cannot vouch for the truth of the statement, but that it seems pretty certain that it is believed in Richmond and among the rebel troops. To this the President replies on the same day, that the information is corroborated by a despatch from General King at Fredericksburg, and remarks: "If this is true, it is as good as a reinforcement to you of an equal force."

On the same day General McClellan telegraphs to the President:

"A general engagement may take place at any hour. An advance by us involves a battle more or less decisive. The enemy exhibit at every point a readiness to meet us. They certainly have great numbers and extensive works. If ten or fifteen thousand men have left Richmond to reinforce Jackson, it illustrates their strength and confidence. After to-morrow we shall fight the rebel army as soon as Providence will permit. We shall await only a favorable condition of the earth and sky, and the completion of some necessary preliminaries."

The progress of the trenches continued, creeping gradually towards Richmond; and on the 18th a grand review of the forces was made by General McClellan, beginning on the left of the army and ending at the right wing at dark. The divisions of Keyes, Heintzelman, Sumner, Couch, Casey, Sedgwick, Richardson, Franklin, Smith, Lamar, Slocum and Porter were passed in review, amidst the wildest acclamations, but the shouts faded into silence as the cortege passed the division of Casey, which was smarting under the rebuke of the general order after Fair Oaks, and no voice cheered the author of that rebuke, although it had been modified in a subsequent order.

On the 20th June the left of the army was still at Fair Oaks, six miles from Richmond. The nearest point of the centre was at New Bridge, seven miles by direct road to the city, and the extreme right at Mechanicsville bridge, four and one half miles distant. On that day the corps of Franklin crossed the river, thus placing more than half the army on the right or Richmond side of the muddy stream. The situation now became critical, and on both sides there was a growing expectation of the impending battle. The weather was very inclement, and the roads very unfavorable for active movements.

The right wing, consisting of McCall's, Morell's, and Sykes's divisions, less than twenty-five thousand strong,

was well posted on the left bank of the Chickahominy, from Beaver Dam Creek to a point below New Bridge. Several military bridges formed the avenues of communication between the two portions of the army separated by the river. The centre, consisting of Smith's, Sedgwick's, and Richardson's divisions, stretched in line of battle from Goulden's, on the banks of the river, to a point south of the Yorktown railroad. The left wing, consisting of Hooker's, Kearney's, and Couch's divisions, stretched from Richardson's left to a point considerably south of the Williamsburg stage-road, on the borders of White Oak swamp. The whole line was protected by strong breastworks and redoubts. The necessary extent of the line left but few troops for supports. Casey's, now Peck's, sadly reduced division guarded Bottom Bridge, the railway bridge, and were assigned to other similar duty.

The two lines of battle now pressed each other so close south of the river, that neither could make a movement without provoking an attack. On the 24th, however, the pickets on the Williamsburg road were much advanced—Sickles' brigade on the front. The forward movement was resisted by the twenty-second Georgia, soon after supported in succession by the fourth Georgia, the first Louisiana, and the twenty-fifth North Carolina. These maintained the ground with great determination. The brigade of Sickles, however, being promptly reinforced, it held the ground gained against the utmost efforts of the enemy, and the conflict subsided after a severe struggle of two hours. General McClellan sent the following despatches in relation to the affair:

"REDOUBT No. 3, *June 25, 1.30 P. M.*

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"We have advanced our pickets on the left considerably to-day, under sharp resistance. Our men have behaved handsomely. Some firing still continues.

"(Signed)

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN,

"*Major-General Commanding.*"

"SECOND DESPATCH.

"REDOUBT No. 3, *June 25, 3.15 P. M.*

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"The enemy are making desperate resistance to the advance of our picket lines. Kearney and one half of Hooker's forces are where I want them. I have this moment reinforced Hooker's right with a brigade and a couple of guns, and hope in a few minutes to finish the

work intended for to-day. Our men are behaving splendidly. The enemy are fighting well also. This is not a battle, merely an affair of Heintzelman's corps, supported by Keyes, and thus far all goes well, and we hold every foot we have gained. If we succeed in what we have undertaken, it will be a very important advantage gained. Loss not large thus far. The fighting up to this time has been done by General Hooker's division, which has behaved as usual, that is, most handsomely. On our right, Porter has silenced the enemy's batteries in his front.

"G. B. McCLELLAN."

"THIRD DESPATCH.

"REDOUBT No. 3, June 25, 5 P. M.

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"The affair is now over, and we have gained our point fully, and with but little loss, notwithstanding the strong opposition. Our men have done all that could be desired. The affair was partially decided by two guns that Captain De Russy brought gallantly into action under very difficult circumstances. The enemy was driven from his camps in front of this, and all is now quiet.

"(Signed)

G. B. McCLELLAN,

"*Major-General Commanding.*"

"FOURTH DESPATCH.

"REDOUBT No. 3, June 25—6.15 P. M.

"I have just returned from the field, and find your despatch in regard to Jackson. Several contrabands, just in, give information confirming the supposition that Jackson's advance is at or near Hanover Court-House, and that Beauregard arrived with strong reinforcements, in Richmond yesterday. I incline to think that Jackson will attack my right and rear. The rebel force is stated at 200,000, including Jackson and Beauregard. I shall have to contend against vastly superior odds if these reports be true; but this army will do all in the power of man to hold their position and repulse an attack. I regret my great inferiority of numbers, but feel that I am in no way responsible for it, as I have not failed to represent, repeatedly, the necessity of reinforcements; that this was the decisive point; and that all the available means of the government should be concentrated here. I will do all that a general can do with the splendid army I have the honor to command; and if it is destroyed by overwhelming numbers, can at least die with it, and share its fate. But if the result of the action, which will occur to-morrow or within a short time, is a disaster, the responsibility cannot be thrown on my shoulders: it must rest where it belongs.

"Since I commenced this I have received additional intelligence, confirming the supposition in regard to Jackson's movements and Beauregard's. I shall probably be attacked to-morrow, and now go to the other side of the Chickahominy to arrange for the defence on that side. I feel that there is no use in my again asking for reinforcements.

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN, *Major-General.*

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

The answer of the President is as follows:

“WASHINGTON, *June 26th*, 1862.

“Your three despatches of yesterday in relation to the affair, ending with the statement that you completely succeeded in making your point, are very gratifying.

“The later one of 6½ P. M., suggesting the probability of your being overwhelmed by 200,000 men, and talking of whom the responsibility will belong to, pains me very much. I give you all I can, and act on the presumption that you will do the best you can with what you have; while you continue, ungenerously I think, to assume that I could give you more if I would. I have omitted, I shall omit, no opportunity to send you reinforcements whenever I possibly can.

“A. LINCOLN.

“Major-General McCLELLAN.”

This struggle at Fair Oaks farm, on the Williamsburg road, for a point nearer the enemy on Wednesday, the 25th, was proclaimed as a great success. The general, with a sort of exultation, exclaimed, “The troops are where I want them!” at the same time he telegraphed the President that he would be attacked the following day by 200,000 of the enemy. The returns of General McClellan to the Adjutant-General’s office, give the following as the strength of the army on the peninsula on the 20th of June: “Present for duty, 115,102; special duty, sick, and in arrest, 12,225; absent, 29,511—total, 156,838.

The pickets of the enemy now gave token of some projected movement, thereby increasing the general excitement in relation to an impending battle, and Hooker was ordered to resume his position of the 23d. On Thursday, June 26th, at 2 P. M., the corps of General A. P. Hill crossed the river and attacked Meadow Bridge, followed by the divisions of Magruder, D. H. Hill, and Longstreet, who immediately attacked the works held by McCall with the Pennsylvanians of Porter’s corps. The attack of the enemy was combined with that of Jackson’s corps upon the extreme right, coming from the valley, and was very vigorous. The enemy, under General A. P. Hill, who crossed at Meadow’s Bridge, having driven in the pickets advanced on the Mechanicsville road, and although the day was far advanced, attacked the Union position. The affair opened with artillery, but the enemy soon shortened the range and closed in with great vigor. The brigades of Meade, Reynolds, and Seymour, of McCall’s division, received the shock of the attack with the

fortitude and nonchalance of old soldiers. In vain the accumulated masses of artillery, thundering and shortening range, showered death upon those gallant regiments; they replied to the volleying thunders with a fire equal in fury and destructiveness. This artillery duel was carried to an extent that had hardly been reached at any previous period of the war. It then apparently slackened, and there was a movement among the assailants, while the Union lines were filled with rumors that Jackson was on their right flank. There were, however, no signs of sinking confidence, but every indication that the powerful bodies of troops now clearly seen plunging into the valley to charge our batteries, would meet their fate. On they came, those desperate fellows, maddened with excitement, and wildly yelling, dashing against the Union position. They were met, however, with a fire so cool, so well directed, that the enemy recoiled before it. Again and again they assailed the line with determined courage, but only to meet a ruthless slaughter. McCall was now reinforced by Griffin's and Martindale's brigades, and with the approaching night the attacks were stopped. Meantime Longstreet, with the brigades of Featherston and Pryor in advance, had crossed at Mechanicsville and marched parallel with the river for some distance, when they halted for the night.

During the night, tents, forage, commissary stores, &c., were removed across the Chickahominy, and that which could not be removed was burned. At daybreak the accumulated masses of the enemy again moved to the attack in great force. The brigades of Featherston, Pryor and Wilcox advanced on the Union left, while that of Moxey Gregg carried Ellyson's Mills, menacing the right flank. The order was therefore given to fall back upon Gaines' Hill. McCall opened an active cannonade, under cover of which the troops fell back on two lines to the position assigned. Here a line of battle was formed some two miles in length, the extreme left on the Chickahominy and the right towards Coal Harbor. The front was lined with woods, and a ditch through the woods formed the infantry line of defence. The force here was composed of McCall's, Morrell's and Sykes' divisions, with Cook's cavalry brigade, in all about 20,000 men, with fourteen batteries, eighty-four pieces,

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disposed as follows: Meade's brigade on the extreme left, near the river; Butterfield's on Meade's right; Martindale continued the line prolonged by Griffin; Sykes' division was in the centre, and Reynolds held the extreme right at Coal Harbor. There were twelve batteries, numbering sixty-eight pieces, disposed on eminences along the line. The enemy followed in three columns, until they reached Hogan's farm, one mile through the woods to Gaines' mills. The first attack was made by Pryor, on Martindale's brigade, at 12 m. The fifth New York were skirmishing in front, and falling back slowly, were supported, and the battle became general at 1 o'clock. The line of the enemy formed by Wilcox on the right, Featherton in the centre, and Pryor on the left, opened fire with great determination along the whole line, at once giving indication of great strength, and the battle raged fiercely for some hours without material results, until suddenly the guns of Jackson were heard on the extreme right, advancing through the woods. This column made a fierce onslaught on our right, threatening the rear, and compelling a change of front, at the same time the whole line of the enemy advanced, and as they did so, the play of sixty admirably served guns of the batteries of Edwards', Martin's and Weeden's, did terrible execution on their ranks, inflicting great slaughter and checking their movement. Fresh troops reinforced his columns, and again he returned with increased force to the charge, but with no better success. They met the most determined resistance from Sykes' regulars and Warren's brigade, which included the Duryea Zouaves and the tenth New York. The Zouaves suffered terribly in consequence of the conspicuousness of their uniforms. A part of Jackson's corps now formed junction with Hill's division, led by the North Carolina regiments. This formidable combination was seen forming its serried ranks, and developing an attack which, for power and consistence, was calculated to try the tempers of the most inured veterans. On they came, the columns closing up and delivering their fire with terrible effect. They were met with the same steady resolve, and a wild cheer rose as the first volley told with fatal effect upon their shrinking line. The pressure was very great, however. The brigade of Griffin, composed of the ninth Massachusetts, fourth Michigan, fourteenth New York, sixty-

second Pennsylvania, stood the brunt of the attack. The overwhelming numbers of the enemy threw themselves upon the devoted little band, inflicting terrible slaughter, but it stood up to the work with a constancy that nothing could shake; repeatedly it forced back the surging numbers of the enemy, who, supplied from Longstreet's corps, rallied in greater force and again obtained the advantage. The centre was gradually weakened in the struggle and McCall's reserve supported it, followed by Newton, Bartlett and Taylor, of Slocum's division, all of which fed the furious combat and maintained a desperate conflict for long hours, in which, if not victory, imperishable glory was won. The loss was terrible; some of the regiments left one-third of their numbers on the bloody field. Soon the Texan brigades reinforced the enemy's left, while Jackson continued to outflank us. The Union corps thus engaged was separated from the main body of the army by the river, crossed by four bridges, while the line of retreat upon White House was already threatened by the rapid advance of Jackson. The loss of the base at West Point was now imminent. This disaster left but one alternative, which was promptly to cut loose from York river and seek a new base on the James river under cover of the gunboats. The alternative was a hard one, but was promptly adopted by the commander. Porter was ordered to hold to the last extremity, and the utmost exertions were used to send off baggage, tents, and munitions towards the left, and to destroy what could not be moved. Time pressed. If the enemy should anticipate the movement and interpose a force between the left and James river, utter destruction or surrender would become inevitable.

At 3 o'clock the pressure became so great that reinforcements were indispensable. General Taylor's first New Jersey brigade crossed at Woodbury bridge, and at 4 o'clock formed on the Union left. General Slocum's division then crossed the Grape Vine bridge and proceeded to the right of the line, while the brigades of French and Meagher followed and took position on the left. The Union force was now nearly 50,000 men, but was still outnumbered by the advancing foe. It was near 5 o'clock, and the enemy massed their troops for a final attack upon the left, and a concentrated attack was made on

the line held by Butterfield and Martindale. The enormous number of the enemy enabled him to continue repeated attacks on different portions of the field, and after some hours the right had held its position with great heroism, drawing the reserves to its support. A redoubled effort was made upon Martindale and Butterfield. Brigade after brigade was hurled upon them with ceaseless force and determination, but was met with the resistance of men who were there to do or die. The loss of officers was very great, but again and again the men stood up to the work, although their thinned ranks, closing up to new assaults, kept the attenuated line full with great difficulty. Suddenly the enemy broke through Martindale's left, and rapidly attempted to encircle and capture Butterfield's brigade. The line was now fast giving way, and the crowds of men, making towards the river, were growing in numbers and size. There was no recourse but to cut their way through to the river, and well and truly did that gallant corps perform their work. McCall's troops, exhausted by two days' fight, thus fell back, and the centre and right followed the movement. The withdrawal of the infantry supports uncovered the batteries of Allen, Weeden, Post and Edwards, and left them a prey to the enemy. The enemy elated, pressed the retiring columns who now sought eagerly to put the river between them and the enemy. Near the river a new line was formed to cover the crossing, by the brigades of Meagher and French, which crossed the bridge and forming in line advanced at the double-quick up the hill to the hospital. The effect was to stop the crowd of stragglers who were making for the river. The enemy followed in solid column, and when within 100 yards of the Union line received a biting fire of canister from the guns of Griffin and Martin. This, with the approach of night, caused the pursuit to slacken, and the army effected the passage, blowing up the four bridges by which they had crossed. The losses in this great battle were severe. Some of the brigades were fearfully cut up, and about twenty-five guns were lost with 15,000 stand of small arms, 3,000 killed and wounded, and some 4,000 prisoners, mostly captured by Jackson's corps.

Meantime the corps of General Stoneman, on the 26th, proceeded to the right to reconnoitre the movements of Jackson, who was threatening the communication. They

took post at Old Church and Hanover Corners, and at noon Friday, during the battle, received orders to fall back upon White House. In four hours they reached Tunstall's Station, where they remained until Saturday noon, when the enemy was at Despatch Station. He then (on the 28th) fell back to White House, destroyed all of the government stores that had not already been placed on the transports for Fortress Monroe. He then burned the White House, which had been in the family of Washington, and around which many revolutionary memories clustered. It had been used as a hospital, and had, in and out of the House, occupied much of the attention of radical members of Congress, who, for some unexplained reason, insisted upon its destruction. The force of Stoneman embarked on transports for Harrison's Landing, James river, *via* Fortress Monroe. Head-quarters were removed from Trent Hill, at dark on Friday, to Savage's, one and a half miles distant; and when the troops had passed the river, Morrell established batteries on Trent Hill to command the river. The enemy occupied Gaines' Hill in force, and gave indications of attempts to cut off the retreat by Bottom's bridge. They also sent a force in the direction of White House, which it reached at 7 p. m., but found all public property destroyed.

At night a large fire burning before the tent of General McClellan, threw a fitful glare across the faces of the commanders of corps then assembled at the first council of war held since the commencement of the war. The evacuation of the north side of the river, accompanied by great loss, involved the abandonment of the base on York river, and the utmost energy of movement to reach the James river—a state of affairs that called for grave deliberation. The enemy had turned our right, evidently outnumbering us in great disproportion, was too strong in front for us to break through, and was in position to crush us in front and rear—and perhaps, intended to strike on our left flank. Apparently his army was numerous enough for that grand combination. The orders were soon issued, and during Friday night the wagons were started on their way through Savage's Station to the James river. Siege pieces, pontoons, ambulances, batteries prolonged the winding procession over the hills to White Oak Swamp. The retrograde movement thus really begun Friday evening,

by the transfer of head-quarters from Trent's Bluff to Savage's Station, but the grand exodus did not commence until Saturday, and did not swell into full proportions till nightfall of that day. Saturday morning it was generally known that the army was to evacuate its line of intrenchments. To do this with the necessary celerity in the face of the enemy, nothing but the most essential baggage could be carried. In order to preserve the *morale* of the army as far as possible, and insure supplies of ammunition and subsistence, it was determined to carry through all the wagons loaded, and the ambulance train—making a mighty caravan—vastly increased by artillery trains. There was but one narrow road to pursue. It struck almost due south from the Williamsburg road through White Oak Swamp to the Charles City road into which it débouchés about eight miles from Turkey Bend in James river. The course then lay up the latter road towards Richmond, where it struck a little south-west by the Quaker road which terminated in New Market road, leading from Richmond. The river was but a short distance south, and Malvern Hill—a beautiful lofty bluff overlooking the river and commanding the surrounding country—being our goal. Although the single road was a narrow funnel for such a mighty torrent of trains and men, fortunately it was smooth and dry, and with slight exception, it had the advantage of coursing through White Oak swamp, upon which we might rely in some degree for protection of our flanks. There was great danger that the enemy might cut us off by moving columns down the Charles City, Central, or New-Market roads, or all three, but these chances were necessarily accepted. General McClellan acted upon the supposition that the enemy would not guess his determination until he was able to defeat their movements. At all events, it was the only hopeful course, because the enemy was watching for him on the left bank of the Chickahominy. The division of General Smith occupied on the extreme right a line of breastworks and the redoubts, the left of which commanded New Bridge and Old Town, now held by the enemy. At 7 o'clock p. m., the Georgia brigade, under Toombs, attacked the position, but were repulsed after an hour's hard struggle. At 8 o'clock Saturday morning, Colonel Lamar, of the seventh Georgia, led a new attack

upon the redoubt at Goldy's farm, but with no better success. General Smith obstinately maintained his ground while arrangements were being made to start the trains with all that could be carried to James river. The quantity of stores that could be saved was not large, and immense quantities were destroyed by fire, particularly at Fair Oaks, and many car loads of ammunition were drowned in the river. Some wounded soldiers had been hurried off by cars to White House, until Saturday morning, when the enemy were reported at Despatch Station. The railroad bridge was then destroyed, and the wounded notified to make for James river as best they could. Those who could walk limped away, and those who could not (about 2,500) were left to the enemy, a flag being displayed over the hospital. The enemy meantime pressed harder on the front, and Hooker and Kearney of Heintzelman's corps, near Savage's Station, sustained a severe conflict, suffering much loss, but gaining time for the retreat. Morrell left Trent Hill for Charles City, the 28th, in the afternoon. At midnight the transportation train started for Charles City, following Morrell. General Smith was ordered to hold his position on the Chickahominy until the trains had passed. He did so, and at daylight Sunday fell back following the train. At 3 A. M. on Sunday, Heintzelman having relieved the outposts, obeyed the order to abandon the redoubts with great reluctance, and fell back from Savage's to White Oak Swamp. The divisions of this corps, Hooker, Kearney and Richardson, formed a line of battle to receive the enemy, who pressed vigorously on the Williamsburg road when he found Hooker retiring. Sedgwick left the front at daylight, and was attacked at 5 P. M. at Savage's, suffering some loss. He continued his retreat and crossed White Oak bridge at 4 A. M. on the 30th. The head-quarters of McClellan which were at Trent Hill on Thursday, 26th, were at Savages on the 27th and 28th, and at 3 o'clock A. M., Sunday, he started for Charles City. By noon of the 29th, Sunday, the artillery was at Charles City, followed by McClellan's division, succeeded by others, Hooker and Kearney covering the retreat. They foiled many attempts of the enemy to flank them as they retired. From Charles City two roads led to James river. By one the distance is six miles. This was observed by the enemy. By the other

the distance is fifteen miles to Turkey Bend, which it was necessary to reach in order to gain the protection of the gunboats. The great peril of the army was that the enemy might thrust down a strong force to cut off these roads, when surrender would be the only alternative. And this combination of the enemy only failed through the dilatoriness of the general to whom the duty was assigned. The divisions of Morrell and McCall were sent to clear the short road of the enemy, while the eighth Illinois cavalry was ordered to explore the longer road, which ran through dense woods to the river. On their favorable report, the wagons proceeded by that road covered by Keyes' corps, followed by Porter, reaching James river early Monday morning, and soon after General McClellan arrived and took possession of Malvern Hill, an old estate and a strong position, capable of a vigorous defence.

Meantime, Heintzelman, covering the retreat, had been closely pressed by Longstreet and Hill down the road to Charles City, while Jackson, east of the Chickahominy, was repairing Bottom bridge to come in on our right. The country in that region is a forest, dotted with clearings of an area of fifty to one hundred acres each. The Union artillery was posted in the woods, on the skirts of these clearings, and as the enemy approached near the openings thus commanded, their losses were heavy. In this manner the army slowly fell back across the White Oak creek, and destroyed the bridge. The army here took a position and rallied most of the stragglers, extending the line four miles to the left, bordering the whole distance upon a swamp, with batteries on every commanding hill. The enemy under A. P. Hill soon made his appearance, and opened with batteries of sixteen heavy guns with great effect, causing a panic in the twentieth New York. Following the cannonade, the enemy's troops pressed on with great vigor until within musket range, when the Union line delivered a staggering fire which brought the advancing foe to a sudden halt. The conflict became now in the last degree terrible. The enemy was exposed point blank to the devouring fire of the double massed Union troops, and a cross fire from batteries admirably served. The air was filled with the shrieking missiles of death—the bursting shells and deep volleys of distant guns; every moment had its peculiar sound of terror, and

every spot its ghastly horror. The enemy stood firmly to the work, although the weight of the Union artillery was evidently too much for him. Some fresh troops now arriving poured such a volley as decided the affair for the night, and General Hill withdrew from the conflict. It was now half-past ten. The enemy had been arrested, and the fight—one of the most remarkable, stubbornly contested and gallant ones that had occurred, was concluded with the achievement of the field, under the most trying circumstances. The men had been long under fire without rest, and short of food, and fully conscious that time was precious in which to save the army from the thundering enemy on front, flank, and rear. At 11 o'clock Magruder's corps of some eight brigades, coming direct from Richmond, the advance under H. A. Wise, appeared at Charles City cross roads, on the Union left, flanking them, and capturing fifteen guns. This attack was most disastrous, and had it occurred three hours earlier, according to Magruder's instructions, would have proved fatal. The enemy pressed the pursuit toward Malvern Hill. This irruption on the rear of Heintzelman compelled some of the brigades to retreat by the Long bridge road, taking a circuitous route, on three roads to Harrison's Landing and Charles City Court-House. The corps of Porter and Keyes, that had reached James river early in the morning, were ordered back to Malvern Hill to resist the enemy, who was approaching amid a terrific cannonade under cover of the woods, and in great force. The advance was driven in, and the enemy menaced the left flank, but were now within range of the gunboats. The Galena and Aroostook moved as near as practicable, and opened with their fifty-four pounders. The shells fell thick along the edge of the wood, where the enemy was lodged. The firing became more vigorous, and raged with great fury along the whole front; the Jacob Bell and some other boats joining in the action. The fire of the flotilla kept the enemy at bay. Heintzelman's corps was then formed in line, and the gunboats being signalled to cease fire, it executed a charge which compelled the enemy to give ground, and won the James river for the army as a base. The losses of guns and men in the last day were very heavy.

The tent of General McClellan was pitched upon the

banks of the river, near Turkey Bend, and he here wrote despatches for the government, which he sent off by his aids, the Duke de Chartres, and the Count de Paris, who here took leave of the service, and, with the Prince de Joinville, embarked on board the "Stepping Stones."

On Tuesday, July 1, the last of this series of battles was fought upon Malvern Hill. The ground is there for the most part open and undulating, highly favorable for a battle field, and when the waves of the battle on the previous day broke against the firm position of the Union troops, they retired a short distance during the night, and took up a strong position to receive the anticipated attack of the enemy for the following day, and by resisting his further progress, give time for the army to concentrate under cover of the gunboats. The troops to the extent of 40,000 were posted by General McClellan in person, in a semicircle. The corps of Keyes was on the extreme right, and the other troops were in order toward the left, Franklin, Sumner, Heintzelmen, Couch's division detached from Keyes and Porter on the extreme left, where the country around was commanded by the artillery and gunboats. It was not until 3 o'clock that the skirmishers of the enemy engaged and drove in those of Couch's division, and a hot engagement took place, without material results. Later in the afternoon some field-pieces were brought forward, but they were silenced by the batteries of Hooker and Kearney. This cannonade was followed by an attempt to force the positions of Porter and Couch, and turn the right. The efforts of the enemy in this direction were more determined as night approached, when Porter was reinforced by the Irish brigades of Sumner, and the battle was fairly maintained until dark, when the enemy drew back. In the night, order was issued for the troops to retire seven miles to Harrison's Landing.

The night was very dark; so much confusion took place among the retreating troops, that numbers of the wounded were abandoned. General Martindale proposed to General Morrell and General Butterfield to remain and give themselves up rather than abandon the sick and wounded—his son being among the number. For this he was subsequently court-martialed. The position of the army was now, July 2, twenty-five miles south-east of Richmond in

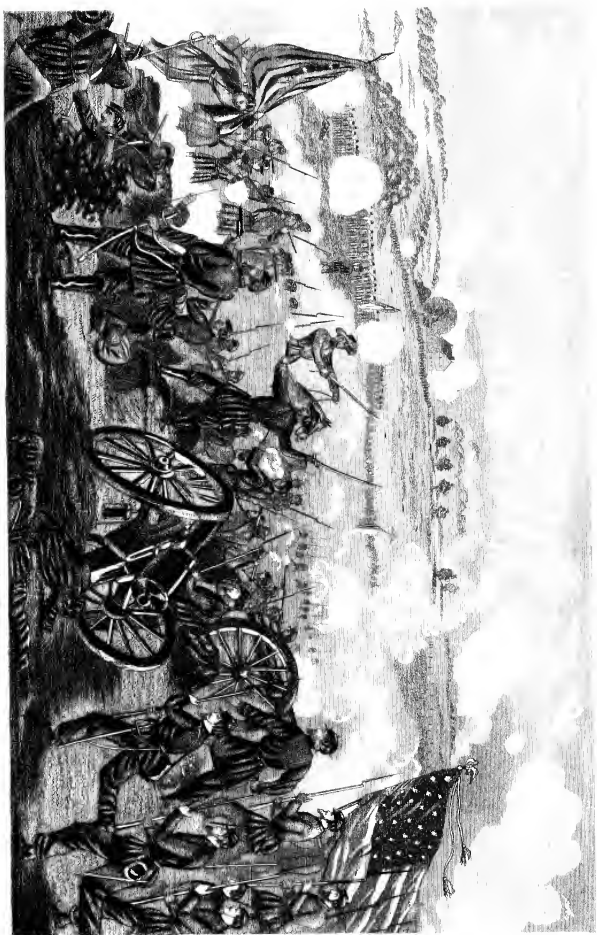
a direct line, and fifty miles by water. It was ten miles below City Point, and occupied a space five miles on the river and three miles broad, entirely protected by the gunboats. The land sloped down to the river, which is there very shallow, for which reason long "landings" are built out to the deep water where the boats float. The place was well suited for defence. Thus, from the evening of June 25th, when General McClellan telegraphed that the affair was over and the troops "where I want them," the army had retrograded twenty-five miles in six days of almost continual fighting, had lost sixty guns, 37,000 stand of arms, and an incredible quantity of stores and munitions, 12,000 prisoners, and a number of dead and wounded, of which there has never been any official report. The base of the army, with all its advantages on York river, had been lost, and the cover of the gunboats on James river gained by the most incredible devotion, endurance, and valor of the troops; these qualities were recognized by the general in his address to the troops.

GENERAL M'CLELLAN'S ADDRESS TO HIS SOLDIERS.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
"CAMP NEAR HARRISON'S LANDING, *July 4, 1862.*

"SOLDIERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC!—Your achievements of the last ten days have illustrated the valor and endurance of the American soldier. Attacked by superior forces, and without hope of reinforcements, you have succeeded in changing your base of operations by a flank movement, always regarded as the most hazardous of military expedients. You have saved all your material, all your trains and all your guns, except a few lost in battle, taking, in return, guns and colors from the enemy. Upon your march you have been assailed day after day with desperate fury, by men of the same race and nation, skilfully massed and led. Under every disadvantage of number, and necessarily of position also, you have in every conflict beaten back your foes with enormous slaughter. Your conduct ranks you among the celebrated armies of history. No one will now question that each of you may always with pride say, 'I belong to the Army of the Potomac.' You have reached the new base, complete in organization and unimpaired in spirit. The enemy may at any time attack you. We are prepared to meet them. I have personally established your lines. Let them come, and we will convert their repulse into a final defeat. Your government is strengthening you with the resources of a great people. On this, our nation's birthday, we declare to our foes, who are rebels against the best interests of mankind, that this army shall enter the capital of the so-called confederacy; that our national constitution shall prevail; and that the Union, which can alone insure internal peace, and external security

FENNIS GILA BATTLE JUNE 25, 1862



to each State, 'Must and shall be preserved,' cost what it may in time, treasure and blood.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN."

The losses of the enemy in these engagements were very large, but were not publicly announced. Jefferson Davis, on the 8th July, made the following address to the troops :

"TO THE ARMY IN EASTERN VIRGINIA :

"SOLDIERS :—I congratulate you on the series of brilliant victories which, under the favor of Divine Providence, you have lately won; and as the President of the Confederate States, do heartily tender to you the thanks of the country, whose just cause you have so skilfully and heroically served. Ten days ago an invading army, vastly superior to you in numbers and in the material of war, closely beleaguered your capital and vauntingly proclaimed its speedy conquest; you marched to attack the enemy in his entrenchments; with well directed movements and death defying valor you charged upon him in his strong positions, drove him from field to field over a distance of more than thirty-five miles, and, despite his reinforcements, compelled him to seek shelter under the cover of his gunboats, where he now lies cowering before the army so lately derided and threatened with entire subjugation.

"The fortitude with which you have borne toil and privation, the gallantry with which you have entered into each successive battle, must have been witnessed to be fully appreciated; but a grateful people will not fail to recognize you and to bear you in loved remembrance. Well may it be said of you, that you have "done enough for glory;" but duty to a suffering country and to the cause of constitutional liberty, claims from you yet further effort. Let it be your pride to relax in nothing which can promote your future efficiency; your one great object being to drive the invader from your soil, and, carrying your standards beyond the outer boundaries of the Confederacy, to wring from an unscrupulous foe the recognition of your birthright, community, independence.

"(Signed)

JEFFERSON DAVIS."

The campaign of the Peninsula was thus virtually closed. The troops indeed remained at Harrison's Landing some weeks longer, but without hope of renewing the attack upon Richmond. We may recall the leading events of the spring advance. This had been in four columns. The mountain department under Fremont, the valley of the Shenandoah under Banks, the Potomac under McDowell, and that of the Peninsula under McClellan. The two first mentioned had made suitable progress, and at the date of the fall of Yorktown, threatened to unite at Staunton at the head of the valley. The fall of New Orleans, April 24th, had involved the fall of Yorktown May 5th, since the gunboats commanded the defences of both locations.

From that moment McClellan gradually advanced up the Peninsula and extended his right to the north of Richmond to give the hand to McDowell, whose left was approaching from Fredericksburg. While McClellan was advancing up the Peninsula, Jackson advanced up the valley, driving Fremont's corps back to the mountains, and Banks' over the Potomac, creating so much alarm at Washington that 50,000 fresh troops were hastily called into the field, and McDowell was ordered to the valley. He arrived there on the same day that the left of McClellan under Casey was crushed at Fair Oaks. McClellan recovered from the blow very slowly. The important battle that he had announced May 25th, was deferred a month, when it was forced upon him by the enemy, who had then assembled a force according to General McClellan of 200,000 men. On the 13th June, instead of forming a junction with McDowell before Richmond, the division of McCall and other troops joined him by water, and were assigned to the extreme right, where, on the 26th, they were overwhelmed by Jackson, coming from the valley to aid in the main attack upon the Union line, which, the entrenchments being turned, was rolled up upon its left and thrown upon the James river, completely on the defensive. Meantime, the disorganized corps of Fremont, Banks, and McDowell, were combined under Pope, who menaced Richmond in front, while McClellan was preparing to evacuate the Peninsula. In all these movements, the bravery, endurance and devotion of the Union troops were unsurpassed by any veteran troops of any age or nation. The nation had supplied means with lavish hands, and yet faction was conspicuous. The initial cause was the total incapacity of the head at Washington. It is in vain to look for success in changing subordinate generals for apparent incompetency, while the most incompetent of all is the head of the war department.

During the progress of the Peninsular campaign the condition of the Confederacy had undergone a great change for the better. At the time the Army of the Potomac landed on the Peninsula, the rebel army was at its lowest ebb. Its armies were demoralized by the defeats of Port Royal, Mill Spring, Fort Henry, Fort Donelson, Roanoke Island, and Pea Ridge; and reduced

by sickness, loss in battle, expirations of periods of service, &c. ; while the conscription law was not yet even passed, it seemed as if it needed but one vigorous gripe to end forever this fatal civil war. The day of the initiation of the campaign of this magnificent army of the Potomac, was apparently the day of the resuscitation of the Confederate cause, which seemed to grow *pari passu* with the slow progress of its operations. The loss of a month before Yorktown was an enormous gain to the enemy. The bad roads, the nature of the obstacles offered by the Chickahominy to an advance, all prolonged the time so as to give the enemy another month ; and still another was placed at his disposal by the divisions of the army, caused indeed, to some extent by his operations in the valley. Thus, from the 1st of April, when McClellan landed at Fortress Monroe, to the 1st of July, when the shattered columns had reached James River, three months had elapsed, during which time the Confederates may be said to have raised an army by conscription, concentrated all their strength, and hurled it at the grand army of the Potomac with fatal effect, because it was not concentrated, nor with all the digging were the important points fortified. There were no defences at White House, nor were there any defensible *tetes-de-pont* or strong positions prepared to cover the *débouchés* from the bridges to the left bank of the Chickahominy. All this was taken full advantage of by an enemy that did not leave any means in their hands unused to insure success, and who struck with his whole concentrated force.

CHAPTER XXV.

Department of Missouri.—General Halleck.—Negotiations with Price.—
Van Dorn, Curtis and Sigel.—Pea Ridge.

IN resuming the thread of events at the west, we may recall the situation of affairs at the close of 1861, as we described them at page 328. Missouri, then under Halleck, had been cleared of Confederates, and Kentucky and Tennessee had, under Buell, been restored to Union control. When General Halleck,* November 20th, assumed command of the Union forces, they had suffered reverses under the policy which he now sought to repair, and he changed the policy to some extent. It was well known that the enemy enjoyed the most perfect means of information by which the Union plans were continually

* Henry Wager Halleck, now about 45 years of age, is a native of New York. He entered the Military Academy at West Point in 1835, and on graduating stood third in his class. He was breveted second lieutenant of engineers in 1839, made assistant Professor of Engineering at West Point, in 1839, published a military work on Bitumen and its uses, in 1841, and in 1845 was appointed first lieutenant. In 1845 he published a second work on Military Science and Art, being a compilation of lectures previously delivered before the Lowell Institute, at Boston. In 1847, Lieutenant Halleck was breveted captain for gallant conduct in Mexico and California. From 1847 to 1849 he acted as secretary of state of the province of California, under Generals Kearney, Mason, and Riley. In 1847-'48 he was also chief of the staff to Commodore Shubrick on the Pacific coast; and in 1849 was a member of the convention and of the committee to form and draft the Constitution of the State of California. He was appointed captain of engineers in July, 1853, but in August of the next year resigned. At the breaking out of the rebellion, Mr. Halleck, who, as a lawyer, was enjoying a lucrative practice at San Francisco, threw up his business and offered his services to the Government. On the 19th of August, 1861, he was commissioned as Major-General in the regular army. On the 18th of November he appeared at St. Louis, Mo., to assume command of the Department of the West, then temporarily held by General Hunter. In April his command was extended to Kentucky and Tennessee. On the 15th of April he took command at Pittsburg Landing, and on the 11th of July he was appointed General-in-Chief at Washington.

thwarted. In some measure, to remedy this, General Halleck issued the following order:—

“GENERAL ORDER, NO. 3.

“HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF MISSOURI,
St. Louis, *November 29, 1861.*

“1. It has been represented that important information respecting the numbers and condition of our forces is conveyed to the enemy by means of fugitive slaves who are admitted within our lines. In order to remedy this evil, it is directed that no such persons be hereafter permitted to enter the lines of any camp, or of any forces on the march, and that any within such lines be immediately excluded therefrom.

“2. The General Commanding wishes to impress upon all officers in command of posts and troops in the field the importance of preventing unauthorized persons of every description from entering and leaving our lines, and of observing the greatest precaution in the employment of agents and clerks in confidential positions.

“By order of Major-General Halleck,

“WILLIAM McMICHAEL,

“*Assistant Adjutant-General.*”

The order, although one of purely military necessity, was made a matter subsequently of congressional discussion. Its good effects were soon apparent in the more effective action of the troops. Early in January General Pope, in command of Central Missouri, was at Tifton, while Price was at Osceola with Generals Reins and Stern in the neighborhood of Lexington. General Price opened a negotiation with General Halleck in relation to bridge burners, and in reply to threats of retaliation, General Halleck replied:

“No order of yours (Price's) can save from punishment spies, marauders, robbers, incendiaries, guerrilla bands, &c., who violate the laws of war. But if any of Price's men are captured in the garb of soldiers, they shall be treated as prisoners of war.”

Missouri continued in a very disturbed condition, and martial law having been declared in St. Louis, General Halleck issued order No. 24, ordering the property of secessionists to be assessed for the benefit of the fugitives from the south-western section of the State where the Confederates held control. The property of those who resisted this assessment by legal means was seized, and the owners banished from the State. January 26th, General Halleck ordered that the President and officers of the Mercantile Association and of the Chamber of Commerce

should take the oath of allegiance on pain of being deposed and punished for contempt. The press in Missouri was subjected to the martial law. The publisher of the *Boone County Democrat* having been found guilty of criminal publications, under the style of "Letters from the Army," he was sentenced to be banished from the State, and his business property confiscated and sold. General Halleck approved the finding and sentence, and directed the printing-office to remain in charge of the quarter-master until further orders; that the prisoner be placed outside the State of Missouri, and that if he returned during the war, without permission, that he be arrested and placed in close confinement in the Alton military prison. The proceedings being returned to the War Department, they were approved by the Secretary, and an order issued that the form of procedure should be adopted in like cases by the commanders of all the military departments.

Military movements were now in train of renewed activity. On the 29th January, the Confederate General Van Dorn* issued a general order, assuming command of the department comprising Arkansas, Missouri, and Louisiana, to relieve, on the same day, Jefferson C. Davis, in command of the reserve force at Versailles, marched in the direction of Springfield. Price gradually fell back

* General Earl Van Dorn is a native of Mississippi, and was educated at West Point. He graduated in 1842. In the same class were Gustavus W. Smith and Mansfield Lovell. On the 1st of July, 1842, he was appointed brevet second lieutenant in the seventh United States infantry, and was made a full second lieutenant on the 30th of November, 1844. On the 3d of March, 1847, he was promoted to a first lieutenantcy, and on the 18th of April was breveted captain for his conduct at Cerro Gordo. In the following August he received a further brevet of major, for his conduct at Contreras and Cherubusco; and on the 13th of September was wounded while entering the city of Mexico. He was aid to General P. F. Smith during the years 1848 and 1849. He was secretary and treasurer of the Military Asylum of Pascagoula, Miss., from January, 1852, to June, 1855. Was made full captain of the second United States cavalry in March, 1855. In July, 1856, he was distinguished in the command of the expedition against the Camanches in Northern Texas. Again, on the 1st of October, 1858, in the command of the expedition against the Camanches near Wichita village, Texas, gaining a victory, but was himself four times wounded—twice dangerously. On the 13th of May, 1859, he was again in action with a body of Camanches, completely victorious. He joined the Confederation, and received as general various commands. He was of dissolute life, and towards the close of 1862 was shot by Dr. Peters, of Nashville, whose wife he had addressed.

from that neighborhood. Early in January, General Sigel was in command at Rolla awaiting reinforcements, which it was alleged had been raised for him. Of the six regiments thus raised, two were sent to the Potomac, one was given to General Pope, one to General Hunter, and of the remaining two, four companies only were with Sigel, and those were not equipped. For these and other reasons Sigel tendered his resignation. This caused some excitement among the German citizens, and a meeting was held in New York in relation to it. The difficulties were settled, however, by the appointment of General Curtis* to command. Early in February, preparations

* General Samuel R. Curtis is a native of New York. He graduated at West Point in 1831, as a brevet second lieutenant of the seventh infantry. He resigned on the 30th of June, 1832. He practised as a civil engineer in Ohio from that time until 1837. From April, 1837, to May, 1839, he was civil engineer of the Muskingum river improvement. He next practised law in Ohio for a length of time from 1842, after which he went to Iowa. During his stay in Ohio he was a captain of the Ohio militia, and afterward a colonel of the same. He became adjutant-general of the State of Ohio from May 20, 1846, to June 23 of the same year. He then undertook the colonelcy of the third regiment of Ohio volunteers in the Mexican war, and fought in the United States service during the campaign in Mexico. He served as colonel from June 23, 1846, to June 24, 1847. After the discharge of his regiment, he served in the staff of Brigadier-General Wool, as acting assistant adjutant-general, and afterward acted as the civil and military governor of Saltillo, in Mexico, in 1847. On his return home he was appointed chief engineer of the Des Moines river improvement, in the State of Iowa. This position he filled from December 4, 1847, to January 1, 1850. He was afterward returned to Congress to represent a district of the State of Iowa. While serving in Congress he commanded the second regiment of Iowa Volunteers, and while they were in service in Missouri he had to leave his command in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Tuttle, while he proceeded to Washington to attend the extra session of Congress, in which he spoke strongly in favor of the Union and its cause. At the close of the session he returned to Missouri. He was appointed a brigadier-general, from May 17, 1861, and resigned his seat in Congress. For some time he had charge of the city and district of St. Louis. He in this capacity served under General Fremont. When General Halleck assumed command of the department, General Curtis was ordered to Rolla, as a *dépôt* of concentration of the troops now under his command. When properly prepared, he, as acting major-general in command of a *corps d'armée*, went in pursuit of General Price and his rebel troops. On the 14th of February General Halleck officially announced that General Curtis' command had captured Springfield; on the 18th, that the flag of the Union was floating over the border and in Arkansas; on the 20th, that General Curtis had defeated Price at Sugar creek; on the 21st, that he had taken possession of Bentonville; on the 25th, that he had driven the rebels from Cross Hollows; on the 27th, that he had taken possession of Fayetteville, and that he had beaten the united rebel commands in the Boston Mountains.

having been completed for a forward movement, Price retired from Springfield towards Arkansas. The divisions of Sigel* and Asboth† followed by a road through Mount Vernon, while General Jefferson C. Davis and General Carr took the road through Cassville, over the old battle ground of Wilson's creek. The columns came up with the enemy at Crane creek on the 14th of February, but too late to attack. The enemy retired during the night, and on the morning of the 15th, at daylight, the pursuit was resumed and continued through the 16th and 17th, the enemy taking advantage of favorable positions to retard the advance. On the 17th he was reinforced by two Louisiana regiments, under command of Colonel Louis

* Major-General Franz Sigel was born in 1824, at Baden, in Germany, and was educated at the Military School of Carlsruhe. In 1847 he held the rank of chief adjutant, and was thought one of the most promising officers, and, perhaps, the best artillerist in Germany. When the revolution broke out in 1848, he joined it at once, and lost his commission in consequence. He obtained service, however, among the revolutionists, and soon rose to the chief command of their armies. When the reaction took place, the sovereigns raised an overwhelming force to crush out Sigel. He fought them with thirty thousand men against eighty thousand, and, more fortunate than at Springfield, he brought off every one of his guns. Peace soon left the general without an army, and he emigrated shortly afterward to this country. Here he entered the academy of a Monsieur Dulon, whose daughter he afterward married. A few years since he was chosen professor in a college at St. Louis, where he taught, among other things, the art of war to his pupils. When the rebellion broke out, affording an opportunity to utilize his military education, General Sigel was one of the first of the Germans of Missouri to seek employment from the government. He commanded the third regiment of volunteers raised at St. Louis. His retreat from Carthage attracted attention. He subsequently co-operated with the lamented Lyon, and was with him up to the eve of the battle of Springfield. After the death of Lyon, General Sigel commanded our army, and led the retreat to Rolla, after which he remained somewhat inactive at St. Louis, until appointed to a division under Curtis.

† General A. Asboth is a Hungarian by birth, and is the brother of the noted General Asboth, of Hungarian revolutionary fame. He himself held the rank of Colonel in the same army, and is somewhat noted as a cavalry officer. He visited this country with Kossuth, and determined to stay. When General Fremont was appointed to the department of the West, he took Asboth with him, giving him the title of brigadier-general, without having received the authority so to do, and making him chief of his staff. When General Fremont took the field, General Asboth was placed in command of a division as an acting major-general, but when General Fremont was recalled, General Asboth was also removed, his division being placed under the command of acting general Carr. General Asboth having been appointed by government a brigadier-general, he was placed in command of a division of General Curtis' *corps d'armée*, and again became an acting major-general.

Herbert. This officer had been a member of Congress from California, and some years since killed a waiter at Willard's Hotel in Washington. General Ben McCulloch also joined Price, who took up a position at Sugar creek. His force was in two lines on both sides of the road, on which guns were planted. The attack was commenced by cavalry, supported by two regiments of infantry. After a short conflict, the enemy retired. The Union lines, numbering some 12,000 troops, with 49 guns, February 25th, extended ten miles. The right, under Sigel was at Osage, and the head-quarters of Carr, commanding the left, were at Cross Hollows. General Asboth, with the cavalry, occupied Fayetteville.

March 1st, General Curtis issued an address to the people of Arkansas, exhorting them to remain at their homes; that the only object of the war was peace; and that in its prosecution the rights of all individuals would be respected.

The enemy at Boston Mountains, about fifty miles from Sugar creek, were now reinforced by Van Dorn's troops, with the Indians under Pike, and the corps of McIntosh. The force of the enemy was then composed of 9,000 Missouri State troops, under Price, six Arkansas regiments, under Ben McCulloch,* five Texan regiments, under

*General Ben McCulloch, better known heretofore as the major of the Texan Rangers, was born in Rutherford county, Tennessee, in 1814. His father was aide-de-camp to General Coffee, and fought under General Jackson during the Creek war. Ben was kept at school in Tennessee until he was fourteen years old. After this Ben was kept hunting until he was near twenty-one. McCulloch joined the Texan army under General Sam Houston, and was assigned to the artillery, and made captain of a gun. He served gallantly at the battle of San Jacinto, where Santa Anna was taken prisoner, and his army of 15,000 men killed or taken prisoners. McCulloch afterwards settled in Gonzales county, Texas, and was employed on the frontier surveying and locating lands. He frequently led the wild border scouts against the Indians and Mexicans. He also distinguished himself at the battle of Plum creek, in a fight with the Indians, who at the time burned and sacked the town of Linnville. He joined the expedition against Mier, but not agreeing with the plans of the leaders, he returned home before the fight. When the war broke out with Mexico, he rallied a band of Texan warriors on the banks of the Guadalupe, and set out for the seat of war on the Rio Grande. The company arrived four days after the battles of Palo Alto and the Resaca. His company was accepted by General Taylor, and he was afterwards employed in the daring scouting expedition towards Monterey, in which battle, as well as that of Buena Vista, he won imperishable renown. He afterwards joined General Scott's army, and continued with it to the conquest of the city of Mexico. For his gallant services he was honored with a national reputation, and the office of United States marshal of Texas was given him by President Pierce. Since

Earl Van Dorn, and, it was estimated, some 3,000 Indians under Pike and McIntosh; in all, about 15,000 men, with seventy guns. When General Curtis received information of the reinforcements of the enemy, he fell back to Sugar creek, a short distance south of Pea Ridge, in expectation of being attacked. On the 5th of March, Sigel, then at Bentonville, ten miles in advance, received orders to join the army at Pea Ridge. He executed the movement on the 6th. His rear guard, embracing the thirty-sixth Illinois and the second Missouri, were attacked by four Confederate regiments, but succeeded in cutting through, with a loss of twenty-eight killed and wounded, and a number of prisoners. Planting a portion of his guns, with his infantry to sustain them, he would pour the grape and shell into their advancing squadrons, until, quailing before the murderous fire, they would break in confusion. Before they could re-form, Sigel would limber up and fall back behind another portion of his battery, planted at another turn in the road. Here the same scene would be gone through with, and so on continuously for ten miles. What made this march a more difficult achievement was the condition of the roads, which were in many places very narrow and badly cut up. This brought General Sigel's division to the west end of Pea Ridge, where he formed a junction with Generals Davis's and Carr's divisions. On the morning of the 5th, General Van Dorn ordered his troops to take four days' cooked rations and move forward to the attack. As our camp near Sugar creek was in its front a strong natural position and difficult of access on either flank, General Van Dorn decided to make his attack in our rear, thus cutting off our base of supply and reinforcement. The Union position was on the main road from Springfield to Fayetteville, and General Van Dorn, in marching northward, left that road near the latter town

that time he has been commissioner to Utah in conjunction with ex-Governor Powell, and has always enjoyed the fullest confidence of the government until our recent civil convulsions.

He had a fine physical form, with great energy in action. Quiet in manner, he was yet a man of violent passions. Cold towards his troops, he was not beloved by them, but yet at the same time they never doubted his courage. He was a thin, spare man, of great muscle and activity, and about forty-eight years of age. He had a pleasant face, and was mild and courteous in his manners, with an air of diffidence. He was very cool, and of determined bravery.

and turned to the westward, passing through Bentonville and entering the main road again near the State boundary, about eight miles north of Sugar creek. A small force was left to make a feint upon our front, and a considerable body of Indians, under General Albert Pike, took position about two miles on our right to divert attention from the main attack in the rear. The Union force was in four divisions, the first under Colonel Osterhans, the second under General Asboth, the third, Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, the fourth, Colonel Carr. When the enemy drove in Sigel with the rear guard, General Curtis became assured that the intention of the enemy was to attack his right and rear, and early on the 7th he changed front, so that his right, which was at Sugar Hollow creek, became his left, under Sigel, and his now right, under Carr, at the head of Big Sugar Creek. The line was across Pea Ridge. The division of General Carr was ordered to advance up the road to within about four miles of the State line, and the brigade of Colonel Dodge filed off from the main road to a point east of the Elkhorn hotel, and opened his fire upon the enemy, who was posted on a clivity in front, sheltered by a wood, eliciting a prompt response. The brigade of Vandever passed a half mile beyond the hotel and took position on the left of the road. The Dubuque battery opened upon the enemy with great effect, but the reply of the enemy was very sharp, exploding one of the Union caissons, and the enemy's fire became much hotter, exploding another caisson. It was now 9 o'clock, and the whole line being engaged the enemy advanced with great fury, capturing one of the guns. The infantry supports (the Iowa ninth), however came up to them quick, and delivered such a fire as compelled the enemy to promptly seek shelter of the woods. The enemy seemed to be increasing in force, and the position was not well calculated to resist superior numbers. Hence General Carr retired fighting. The enemy made repeated charges, capturing another gun and caisson, but after each charge the ground showed the effects of the steady fire of the retiring troops. The enemy were armed with double barreled shot guns, loaded with ball and buck shot, an effective weapon when the fire is reserved for short range. Carr was compelled still to retire, until about 4 P.M. Colonel Asboth supported him with two regiments and a battery, with which force he held his ground for the night.

On the left McCulloch commenced moving his forces to the south and east, evidently intending to form a junction with Van Dorn and Price, and by so doing surround our entire army on three sides, at the same time cut off totally all hope of retreat of our forces. General Sigel, detecting this movement, sent forward three pieces of flying artillery, with a supporting force of cavalry, to take a commanding position, and delay their movements until the infantry could be brought up into proper position for an attack.

These pieces had hardly obtained their position and opened fire, when an overwhelming force of the enemy's cavalry came down upon them like a whirlwind, driving our cavalry, scattering them, and capturing the artillery, and setting it on fire. This onslaught, which was made in the most handsome style, allowed their infantry to reach unmolested the cover of a dense wood. Here McCulloch was encountered by Osterhaus, and a very severe struggle took place until Davis was ordered up to support the Union line. It had been supposed that the enemy was in small force, and the third Iowa was ordered forward to clear the timber, but the enemy were in great strength and the cavalry were broken in disorder, followed closely by the enemy, who captured three guns. It was now that the Indiana regiments, under Osterhaus, came up at the run, and delivering a murderous fire, followed by a bayonet charge, sent the Indians and Texans to the right-about and recovered the three pieces. Sigel then reinforced the command. The action recommenced with redoubled vigor. The enemy brought their heavy guns into position, and after an artillery duel the enemy retired. Thus the day closed with Union success on the left and defeat on the right.

At dark the firing had ceased at all points. The situation was now sufficiently perilous, and the wearied men lay upon their arms in gloomy anticipation of the morning conflict. Colonel Carr's* division was now in the centre,

* Colonel Eugene A. Carr, is a native of New York, and entered the Military Academy in 1843. He was breveted a second lieutenant of the mounted rifle corps of the United States army on the 1st of July, 1850. He was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant, and transferred to the first cavalry in March, 1855. On the 11th of June, 1858, he was made a captain in the fourth regiment of the United States cavalry, having obtained leave of absence, to take the command of the third regiment of

with Davis* on the right and Sigel on the left. The enemy during the night had planted some of his batteries on an eminence about two hundred feet high, sloping away to the north, but precipitous on the side in our front. Batteries and large bodies of infantry were posted at his right base of this hill and at the edge of some timber to its left. Infantry and cavalry, with a few guns, were posted on his extreme left beyond the road. It was apparent that if we could dislodge the rebels from this hill the victory would be with our banners. At sunrise the right and centre opened upon the enemy with their batteries, while the left, under Sigel, advanced against the hills occupied by the enemy. Having learned the exact position of the enemy's batteries, he commenced to form his line of battle by changing his front so as to face the right flank of the enemy's position. Probably no movement during the war has shown more skill in the disposition of forces, or caused as great destruction to the party attacked, with so little loss to the attacking party. He first ordered the Twenty-fifth Illinois, under the command of Colonel Coler, to take a position along a fence, in open view of the enemy's batteries, which at once opened fire upon them. Immediately a battery of six of our guns (several of them twelve-pounders, rifled) were thrown into line one hundred paces in the rear of our advanced infantry, on a rise of ground. The twelfth Missouri then wheeled into line, with the twenty-fifth Illinois on their left, and another battery of guns was similarly disposed a short distance behind

Illinois cavalry. In the list of names showing the lineal rank of captains of cavalry his name stands No. six. He has acted as a major-general commanding a division of General Curtis' *corps d'armee*.

* Colonel Jefferson C. Davis, in command of a division under General Curtis, was appointed, in 1848, a second lieutenant of the first United States artillery on the 17th of June in that year. He was not instructed at West Point. On the 29th of February, 1852, he was promoted to a first lieutenantcy, and on the 14th of May, 1861, was appointed captain in the same regiment, being allowed leave of absence to take the command of the twenty-second regiment of Indiana volunteers, General Fremont, without authority, made him a brigadier-general, which the government repudiating, he nearly lost both his brigade and regimental command. He is acting major-general, with the simple rank of a colonel. When under the command of General Pope, in Central Missouri, he effected the capture of over a thousand men. He subsequently did good service in Kentucky, but shot his commanding officer, General Nelson, at the Galt House, in Louisville, for which he was indicted for manslaughter.

them. Then another regiment and another battery wheeled into position, until thirty pieces of artillery, each about fifteen or twenty paces from the other, were in a continuous line, with infantry lying down in front. Each piece opened fire as it came in position. The fire of the entire line was directed so as to silence battery after battery of the enemy.

Such a terrible fire no human courage could stand. The crowded ranks of the enemy were decimated, their horses shot at their guns, large trees literally demolished; but the rebels stood bravely to their post. For two hours and ten minutes did the iron hail fall thick as autumn leaves, furious as the avalanche, deadly as the simoom. One by one the rebel pieces ceased to play. Onward crept our infantry; onward came Sigel and his terrible guns. Shorter and shorter became the range. No charge of theirs could face that iron hail, or dare to venture on that compact line of bayonets. They turned and fled. The centre and right were ordered forward, the right turning the left of the enemy, and cross firing on his centre. This final position of the enemy was in the arc of a circle. A charge of infantry extending throughout the whole line, completely routed them, they retired safely, through the deep impassable defiles of Cross Timber, making again for Boston Mountain, closely pressed by the cavalry. The Union loss at the battle of Pea Ridge is as follows: killed, 212; wounded, 972; missing, 176. The loss of the enemy was large, reported at 2,000; among the prisoners taken was General Herbert, Colonel Stone, adjutant-general, and Colonel Price. Among the killed was Ben M'Culloch, General M'Intosh and General Stark. General Price was wounded. On the 9th of March, General Van Dorn sent to request permission to bury the dead of the 7th and 8th. The permission was granted by General Curtis, who however complained that the union dead had been in some cases scalped and mangled. This led to a correspondence in which General Van Dorn, while expressing the greatest anxiety to repress the savage horrors of war, stated that numbers of Confederate prisoners who had surrendered, had been murdered in cold blood by the Germans. General Curtis replied that the Germans did it in retaliation.

The victory at Pea Ridge cleared the northern part of Arkansas of regular Confederate forces; those under Van

Dorn and Price being called to the support of Beauregard at Memphis. Although there were now no enemy's troops in northern Arkansas, it was not deemed prudent to advance upon Little Rock, for the reason that a communication of 300 miles by wagons, was very difficult to keep up, and General Curtis withdrew his troops from the State, and established his quarters April 12th, at Forsyth, on the White river, forty-five miles south of Springfield. While here in camp, General Curtis issued the following special order, dated

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE SOUTHWEST, *March 26th.*

"Charles Morton, Hamilton Kennedy, and Alexander Lewis, colored men, formerly slaves employed in the rebel service, and taken as contraband of war, are hereby confiscated; and, not being needed for the public service, are permitted to pass the pickets of this command without let or hindrance, and are forever emancipated from the service of their masters, who allowed them to aid in the efforts to break up the government and laws of our country."

On the 19th, the advance under General Osterhaus, with about two hundred and fifty men, met a superior force of rebels near Searey, on the Little Red river, and after a sharp skirmish, put them to flight. They, however, succeeded in destroying the bridges along the route to the city.

The news of the battle of Pea Ridge was telegraphed to Washington by General Halleck, on the 10th of March, and on the 12th, he had occasion to publish the following order.

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI.

"St. Louis, *March 12th, 1862.*

"In compliance with orders of the President of the United States, the undersigned assumes the command of the Department of the Mississippi, which includes the present departments of Kansas and Missouri, and the Department of Ohio and the country west of a north and south line drawn through Knoxville, Tennessee, and east of the western boundaries of the states of Missouri and east Arkansas. The head-quarters of the Department of the Mississippi will remain until further orders at St. Louis. Commanding officers not in the Department of Missouri will report to these head-quarters the strength and position of their several commands.

"H. W. HALLECK,

"*Major-General Commanding.*"

The effect of this order was to bring the active operations in Kentucky and Tennessee under the control of General

Halleck. He issued another order continuing Buell in his command, with the exception of dépôt of prisoners which were to report to Halleck. General Denver was assigned to the district of Kansas, and General Curtis in Arkansas.



MAJ. GEN. STEPHEN H. RENO



MAJ. GEN. F. BEAUREGARD



MAJ. GEN. S. JOHNSTON



MAJ. GEN. J. B. MAGRUDER



MAJ. GEN. G. W. SMITH



COL. M. H. HAYS



GEN. J. M. SMITH



GEN. JOHN M. CAMPBELL



GEN. R. E. LEE



MAJ. GEN. A. S. JOHNSTON



GEN. R. S. GARNETT



MAJ. GEN. J. H. W. JOHNSTON

CHAPTER XXVI.

Island No. Ten.—Beauregard at Corinth.—Battle of Pittsburg Landing.—Huntsville.—Fort Wright.

WHEN the enemy, on the 3d March, evacuated Columbus, they fell back upon Island No. Ten, in the Mississippi river, a place of remarkable strength as far as the river is concerned, but which as it proved was easily turned by a combined attack. The general course of the river is south, but at Island No. Ten, it makes a sharp bend to the north for about twelve miles, and then turning south in a semicircle, forms a tongue of land, opposite the northern point of which, on the Missouri side, is New Madrid, which was held by a strong Confederate force. On the 3d of March, General Pope arrived before New Madrid, being the same day on which Columbus was evacuated—a fact of which he was however ignorant. He took possession of Point Pleasant, eight miles below New Madrid, with 5,000 troops, in order to cut off communication from below. The enemy's gunboats could not then pass the heavy batteries there established. The enemy erected batteries of their heaviest guns directly opposite New Madrid, and in conjunction with their gunboats, attempted to shell Pope from his position, but without effect. New Madrid was defended by redoubts at the upper and lower end, connected by lines of entrenchments, and six gunboats were anchored along the shore between the redoubts. The land is there so low that the guns of the boats command the country for some distance.

General Pope, instead of making a direct attack, took up a position below the town, cutting off supplies and pushing forward works to command the place. On the 13th, fire was opened from these works, and it was vigorously returned; several of the enemy's gunboats were disabled. During the night, a furious storm took place, under cover of which the enemy evacuated the place,

leaving behind thirty-three guns and several thousand stand of arms. The Union loss was fifty-one killed. When this news reached St. Louis, General Halleck erroneously announced from the balcony of the Planter's Hotel that Island No. Ten was captured, with immense stores of ammunition and supplies.

The investment of Island No. Ten was begun on the 16th by the gunboats, under Commodore Foote. His fleet consisted of the Benton, flag-ship, the Cincinnati, Carondelet, Mound City, Louisville, Pittsburg, St. Louis, and the Conestoga. They were all iron-clad but the last named. Each boat (designated numerically) bears a mortar weighing 17,184 pounds, discharging a round shell weighing 215 pounds without its contents, the mortar being charged with twenty-three pounds of powder. They will carry from two to three miles. The mortar boats were in tow of steamers.

At 8 A. M., all the gunboats dropped down stern foremost, to a point within one mile of the head of No. Ten. Being formed in a line across the river, all headed up stream, the flagship several hundred yards in advance, and the furthest down. The fleet dropped down slowly to within half a mile of the Missouri Point above the island, which, by an air line, is two and a half miles distant, while by the river, owing to the head, it is four miles from the head of the island. At 2.40 P. M., a couple of mortar boats were got into position on the Missouri shore, half a mile above the Point, when they commenced throwing across or over the point on Island No. Ten.

The fire of the gunboats continued with great vigor for several days, and it was replied to by the enemy.

Commodore Foote, in a despatch of the 2d of March, said:

"Island No. Ten is harder to conquer than Columbus, as the island shores are lined with forts, each fort commanding the one above it. I am gradually approaching the island, but still do not hope for much until the occurrence of certain events, which promise success."

The events here alluded to were the cutting of a canal. General Pope from New Madrid and from Point Pleasant on the Missouri shore below New Madrid, sustained almost a constant cannonade. The enemy had four batteries of six guns each on the shore, looking up the river

as it approaches Island No. Ten. The island itself was heavily fortified, and lying abreast of it in the river was a floating battery carrying twelve thirty-two pound guns. There were also in the river six gunboats lying between the island and New Madrid. The force of the enemy was estimated at 20,000 men. The gunboats, on the 20th, attempted to force their way down the river from Point Pleasant, but one of their number was sunk by the batteries. From the moment (March 15th) that the gunboats opened their fire upon the island, to the 7th of April, an almost continuous bombardment was carried on, but without much effect. The forces of General Pope on arriving at New Madrid, lined the Missouri bank of the river, and their batteries were vigorously replied to by the enemy. There were, however, no means for General Pope to cross the river while the enemy's gunboats occupied below the island and the Union gunboats above; the two fleets being separated by the tongue of land formed by the rapid current of the river. In this situation General Schuyler Hamilton proposed to cut a canal twelve miles across this tongue, by which gunboats and transports could pass to New Madrid. He laid out the plan, and General Pope directed Colonel Bissell of the engineers to execute it. He accordingly sent to Cairo for four steamboats, six flats, and such guns as could be spared, with an eight-inch columbiad and three thirty-two pounders. The route was two miles through thick timber, and ten through narrow, crooked bayous grown up full of brush and small trees. They cut the track fifty feet wide, of which thirty feet was required for the hulls of the boats. The timber was cut four feet below the surface of the water.

"On the 31st a force under Colonel Buford made a forced march of thirty miles to Union City, at which point many railroads formed a junction, and whence supplies and reinforcements could be sent to Island No. Ten. Colonel Buford made his attack at 7 o'clock A. M., surprising the enemy, 1,500 strong under Clay and King, who retired, leaving 150 wagons loaded with stores. At the same time, April 1st, a boat expedition under command of Colonel Roberts of the forty-second Illinois, was sent to spike the guns at No. One fort. The boats, five in number, at 2 o'clock A. M., amidst a terrific storm, pulled in directly in front of the fort, receiving the fire of two

sentinels. The men then jumped ashore, carried the earth-works, and spiked the six guns, two sixty-four, three eighty pounders, and one nine-inch pivot gun. The boats immediately returned, and arrived without loss.

The enemy, aware of the movement on the land, had erected strong batteries to command its mouth and prevent any transports from emerging, and the Grampus was lying in wait to stop the exit of our boats, or annihilate them if they attempted to come out.

Now, some daring act must be accomplished to relieve our boats. The rebels had made an excellent move, and we were in check. A conference of officers was held, at which it was decided that one of the gunboats must run the blockade. The Carondolet undertook it, and passed up on the night of the 4th, amidst a furious storm, and towing a boat-load of hay on the side next to the enemy, whose fire was weakened by the guns spiked by Colonel Roberts. The success of the gunboat was perfect.

While these events were transpiring, the enemy had been concentrating their forces at Corinth, to await the attack of the Union troops. Van Dorn and Price in Arkansas were drawing towards Memphis, and the troops that evacuated New Madrid had sought the same destination. The soldiers of Island No. Ten seemed to be intended to prevent Pope from reinforcing Buell. On the 5th of April a new commander was sent to that point. On assuming command he issued the following remarkable order:

"Soldiers: We are strangers, commander and commanded, each to the other. Let me tell you who I am. I am a general made by Beauregard, a general selected by Beauregard and Bragg for this command, when they knew it was in peril. They have known me for twenty years together. We have stood on the fields of Mexico. Give them your confidence now; give it to me when I have earned it. Soldiers, the Mississippi Valley is entrusted to your courage, to your discipline, to your patience. Exhibit the vigilance and coolness of last night, and hold it.

"W. D. McCowx, *Brigadier-General Commanding.*"

The transports for General Pope passed the canal on the night of the 6th of April, and at the same time the gunboat Pittsburg ran past the island, the Carondolet having done so successfully on the 4th. She ran by New Madrid and attacked the enemy's batteries at the point destined

for crossing. Meantime the division of General Paine embarked in the boats that had come through the bayou, and was followed by the other corps. By 12 o'clock at night the whole army was over the river and had made good its landing, immediately attacking the enemy, who abandoned his batteries and retired upon the impassable swamps in his rear, where he was compelled to surrender. The capture was reported by General Pope as follows:

"Three generals, seven colonels, seven regiments, several battalions of infantry, five companies of artillery, over one hundred heavy siege guns, twenty-four pieces of field artillery, an immense quantity of ammunition and supplies, several thousand stand of small arms, a great number of tents, horses, wagons, &c., have fallen into our hands.

"Before abandoning Island No. Ten, the enemy sunk the gunboat *Grampus* and six of his transports. These last I am raising, and expect to have ready for service in a few days. The famous floating battery was scuttled and turned adrift with all her guns aboard; she was captured and run aground in shoal water by our forces at New Madrid."

While these events transpired on the Tennessee shore, Island No. Ten surrendered to Commodore Foote, who ordered General Buford to take possession. He reported as captured:

"Seventeen officers and three hundred and sixty-eight privates, besides one hundred of their sick, and one hundred men employed on board of the transports, are in our hands, unconditionally prisoners of war. I have caused hasty examination to be made of the forts, batteries, and munitions of war captured. There are eleven earth-works, with seventy heavy cannon, varying in calibre from thirty-two to one hundred pounders, rifled. The magazines are well supplied with powder, and there are large quantities of shot and shell and other munitions of war, and also great quantities of provisions. Four steamers afloat have fallen into our hands, and two others, with the rebel gunboat *Grampus*, are sunk, but will be easily raised."

When the retiring columns of Confederate troops from Fort Donelson and Mill Spring had been combined at Corinth, great efforts were made by the Confederates to defend the Mississippi at that point. Generals Floyd and Pillow were suspended from their commands, and on the 5th of March General Beauregard took command in a general order.

GENERAL ORDER—NO 1.

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE MISSISSIPPI,

"JACKSON, TENN., *March 5, 1862.*

"SOLDIERS:—I assume this day the command of the army of the

Mississippi, for the defence of our homesteads and liberties, and to resist the subjugation, spoliation, and dishonor of our people. Our mothers and wives, our sisters and children, expect us to do our duty, even to the sacrifice of our lives. Our losses since the commencement of the present war, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, are now about the same as those of the enemy. He must be made to atone for those reverses we have lately experienced. Those reverses, far from disheartening, must nerve us to new deeds of valor and patriotism, and should inspire us with an unconquerable determination to drive back our invaders. Should any one in this army be unequal to the task before us, let him transfer his arms and equipments at once to braver, firmer hands, and return to his home. Our cause is as just and sacred as ever animated men to take up arms, and if we are true to it and to ourselves, with the continued protection of the Almighty we must and shall triumph.

"G. T. BEAUREGARD, *General Commanding.*"

On the same day General Bragg issued a proclamation of martial law at Memphis, and requiring the Louisiana and Mississippi troops to rendezvous at Grand Junction, and the Alabama and Tennessee troops at Corinth. Requisitions were made on the States for troops, and General Beauregard sent a member of his staff to raise troops in Louisiana, and also demanded all plantation and other bells to be melted into guns. The Governor of Mississippi having issued a proclamation for the enrollment of new troops, Generals Bragg and Beauregard intrenched their forces at Jackson, Tennessee, and then gradually formed an army during the inaction of the Union troops after the fall of Donelson. There were no fortifications at Memphis, but the defences of the city were at Fort Pillow and Fort Randolph, sixty miles above the city. At this point there is a bold and nearly precipitous bluff, about eighty feet above the level of the river, commanding a stretch of the river for three miles above, while the land approach to the fort is protected by a rugged conformation of the ground and by Hatchee river, which empties into the Mississippi a mile above the fort. A call had been made for several thousand negroes from the neighboring counties to complete the works at Fort Pillow. The positions were made strong, but less so than had been the case at Columbus.

While the enemy were reorganizing and reinforcing, Andrew Johnson* had been appointed governor of Ten-

* Andrew Johnson is a native of South Carolina. At eighteen years of

nessee, and arrived there amidst the excitement which was caused by the emancipation message of President Lincoln, sent to Congress, recommending the adoption of a joint resolution that "The United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid."

Early in March, a movement up the Tennessee river was projected, and a force, under the command of Major-General C. F. Smith, proceeded in the direction of Fort Henry. The enemy had a force at Pittsburg, about six miles above Savannah, which place was taken possession of March 11th; and the gunboats Tyler and Lexington shelled out the enemy at Pittsburg. The troops arrived in greater numbers at Savannah, and March 22d, General Grant, being reinstated in his command, arrived at that place, and sent his forces, about 40,000 strong, across the river to occupy Pittsburg Landing, the enemy being at Corinth, sixteen miles distant, in force of 60,000 men.

General Buell occupied Nashville, and was to co-operate with Grant. The efforts of the enemy had collected a strong force under Beauregard, to which were added the two divisions of General Polk that had evacuated Columbus, and the fine corps of General Bragg, which had left Pensacola; and General A. S. Johnston was at Murfreesborough. General Macey, with 10,000 men, was at Chattanooga, watching Mitchel, who was at Shelbyville. The design of the Union general was to operate from the Tennessee river, as a base to cut off the communication of the enemy in West Tennessee with the Eastern and Southern States. This being known to the Confederate general, it was determined to attack Grant at Pittsburg Landing before he could be reinforced by Buell from Nashville; accordingly, General A. S. Johnston, April 3d, issued an address to the army, and an order, dividing it into three *corps d'armée*: the first under General Polk, embraced all his troops except those detached to Fort Pillow; the second corps, under Bragg; the third corps,

age he was unable to read or write; and worked as a journeyman tailor at Lawrence Court-House. He migrated to Tennessee and opened a shop. In a few years he had acquired some learning, and was sent to Congress many years in succession. In 1857 he was elected to the United States Senate. When Tennessee seceded he remained at Washington, and when the Union armies drove out the State authorities, he was appointed military governor or pro-consul by President Lincoln.

under Hardee; and General Crittenden was assigned to a reserve, consisting of two brigades—the whole under General Johnston, General Beauregard second in command. The whole force thus organized was concentrated at Corinth, as the strategic point of the campaign.

The Union troops under Grant, comprising part of the Tennessee expedition, March 17th reached Pittsburg Landing, about sixteen miles from Corinth. Pittsburg Landing is simply a narrow ravine through which the road passes from the river bank between high bluffs to Corinth. A mile or two out the road forks—one is called the Lower Corinth road, and the other the Ridge road. Back from the river the country is rolling; and at a distance of two to five miles from the Landing lay five divisions, comprising Grant's army—Sherman, Prentiss, and McClelland, formed the advance line; Hurlbut and Smith in the rear. The latter being sick, his force was commanded by Wallace. The troops formed a sort of semicircle, of which Tennessee river was the chord, and was between Owl Creek on the north, and Lick Creek at the south. These creeks run at right angles with the river, and three miles apart. The corps were very much scattered, and no one was well supported by the others; nor were there any defences or precautions against surprise, although General Grant had been apprised that the Confederates were likely to attack in superior numbers. Buell was several marches distant, and there were no sufficient means of passing the river. The division of General Lew. Wallace was at Crump's Landing, six miles below. The enemy's advanced corps was at Purdy, on the line of the Mobile and Ohio railroad, five miles from Crump's Landing. Another corps was at Bethel, within six miles of Pittsburg.

The plan of the enemy had been to attack Grant before he could be joined by Buell coming from Nashville. On the night of the 2d April, Buell, who had been delayed in his march at Duck Creek, left Columbia. This fact was known to the enemy, who determined to attack at once. On the morning of the 3d, orders for their advance were given. The route was, however, a very difficult one, and they did not reach the vicinity of Grant's troops until Saturday morning, the 5th. In consequence of very inclement weather the attack took place only on the morning

of Sunday, the 6th. It was formed in three lines. The first, under General Hardee, extending three miles from Owl Creek on the left, to Lick Creek on the right. The second line, under Bragg, followed the first, and 800 yards distant, the corp of Polk formed the third line, in lines of brigades, deployed with the batteries in rear of each brigade. The reserves were under Breckinridge. At six o'clock, the advancing line drove in the pickets of Prentiss's corps, and reached camp as soon as the pickets, completely surprising it. Into the just-aroused camps thronged the rebel regiments, firing sharp volleys as they came, and springing toward our laggards with the bayonet. Some were shot down as they were running, without weapons, hatless, coatless, towards the river. The searching bullets found other poor unfortunates in their tents, and there, all unheeding now, they still slumbered, while the unseen foe rushed on. Others fell, as they were disentangling themselves from the flaps that formed the doors to their tents; others as they were buckling on their accoutrements; a few, it was even said, as they were vainly trying to impress on the cruelly-exultant enemy their readiness to surrender.

Officers were wounded in their beds, and left for dead, who, through the whole two days' fearful struggle, lay there gasping in their agony, and on Monday evening were found in their gore, inside their tents, and still able to tell the tale. Thus were overwhelmed Prentiss's corps, and Hildebrand's brigade of Sherman's division, who retired, leaving their camps and guns. The remainder of Sherman's division, roused by the alarm, had sprung to their arms barely in time to receive the onslaught of the enemy, who came sweeping against their fronts. They managed partially to check the advance and to retire upon a prohibiting ridge in their rear. The shout of the men, the roar of guns and rattle of muskets, were rousing rapidly the whole army, and McClelland then formed his left to sustain Sherman, who was doing his best to rally his troops. McDowell and Buckland offered what resistance they could, retiring and firing as they went. Prentiss's corps was partially rallied in an open space, surrounded by scrub oak, which was filled with the enemy, who, thus covered, slaughtered them at his leisure. Two whole regiments, with General Prentiss, were captured, and marched to the rear with others, and the division was practically annihi-

lated. The available brigade of Wallace's division now advanced to support Stuart, of Sherman's division, but lost his way and was repulsed. When McClelland got into action, he was compelled to draw in his brigades that had supported Sherman, to protect his left against the onset of the rebels, who, seeing how he had weakened himself there, and inspired by their recent success over Prentiss, hurled themselves against him with tremendous force. A couple of new regiments, the fifteenth and sixteenth Iowa, were brought up, but taking utterly raw troops on the field, under heavy fire, was too severe a trial for them, and they gave way in confusion. To meet the attack, then the whole division made a change of front, and faced along the Corinth road. Here the batteries were placed in position, and till 10 o'clock the rebels were foiled in every attempt to gain the road.

But Sherman having now fallen back, there was nothing to prevent the rebels from coming in, farther out on the road, and turning McClelland's right. Prompt to seize the advantage, a brigade of them went dashing audaciously through the division's abandoned camp, pushing up the road to come in above McClelland, between him and where Sherman had been. Dresser's battery of rifled guns opened on them as they passed, and with fearful slaughter. The numbers of the enemy told terribly in the strife. The constant arrival of fresh regiments at last overpowered the shrinking division. The line and general officers had suffered severely. The batteries were broken up and half the guns lost, but the soldiers fought bravely to the last, under a fearful disadvantage. Gradually they began falling back, more slowly than had Prentiss's regiments, or part of Sherman's, making more determined, because better organized, resistance, occasionally rallying and repulsing the enemy in turn for a hundred yards, then being beaten back again, and renewing the retreat to some new position for fresh defence. The Union front was thus cleared of divisions, and at 12 o'clock the whole burden fell upon the divisions of Hurlbut and Wallace. Those two divisions now stood between the army and destruction. The troops of the broken divisions had wandered to the rear, some as far as Savannah. These were brought back, and in some cases regiments were patched up and hurried to the front. According to general understanding, in the event

of an attack at Pittsburg Landing, Major-General Lew. Wallace was to come in on our right and flank the rebels by marching across from Crump's Landing below. Yet strangely enough, Wallace, though with his division all drawn up and ready to march anywhere at a moment's notice, was not ordered to Pittsburg Landing till nearly 12 o'clock at night. Then through misdirection as to the way to come in on the flank, four miles of marching were lost, and the circuitous route taken made it twelve miles more, before they could reach the scene of battle. Nevertheless he arrived at last, and with Hurlbut's division extended by some reorganized regiments, closed the space left open by the retreat of Prentiss and McClelland. Here, with open field before them, they could rake the enemy's approach. Nobly did they now stand their ground. From 10 to half-past 3 they held the enemy in check, and through nearly that whole time were actively engaged.

Three times during those long hours the heavy rebel masses on the left charged upon the division, and three times were they repulsed, with terrible slaughter. But the force of the enemy was too great and it was handled with admirable skill. Repulse was nothing to them. A rush on our lines failed; they took their disordered troops to the rear, and sent up fresh troops, who, ignorant of the fearful reception awaiting them, pushed forward without hesitation. The jaded division was compelled to yield, and after six hours' magnificent fighting, it fell back out of sight of its camps, and to a point within half a mile of the Landing.

The retirement of Hurlbut still left Wallace's division fighting with determined front. They had for some hours maintained almost a continuous roll of musketry, and kept their ground against four separate charges of the enemy, but the supports being now gone, retreat was imperative. At this moment Wallace fell and was borne from the field, and the division fell back. At 6 o'clock, P. M., the enemy was in possession of all the encampments, including the field artillery between Owl and Lick Creeks. The troops fell back in a confused mass, under the banks of the river, in the vicinity of Pittsburg, which is north of Owl Creek, where they were covered by the gunboats. The enemy's loss had been very heavy, including the commanding gen-

eral, Johnston, who was killed at half-past 2 o'clock. His troops, exhausted by the previous march and twelve hours' combat, could not collect and send to the rear the spoils captured, but they slept on their arms. General Beauregard, now in command, had his head-quarters at Shiloh church, hoping that some delay would prevent the arrival of General Buell, who he knew was on the march.

A drenching rain set in during the night, in the midst of which the troops of General Buell arrived. He had reached Savannah on the evening of the 5th, General Nelson leading the advance. On the morning of the 6th, the firing in the direction of Pittsburg was heard, and Buell sent orders for the division in the rear to leave the trains and hurry forward. Nelson was ordered at half-past one o'clock to leave his guns to be carried in steamboats, the roads being impracticable for artillery, and to march the men opposite the Tennessee river. General Buell himself reached Pittsburg late in the day of the 6th, on a steamboat, where he met Grant amidst "a throng of disorganized and demoralized troops," and soon the shot of the advancing enemy began to play upon the landing. But he was held in check by the effective fire of the gunboats Tyler and Lexington. At this moment, 5 o'clock p. m., the head of Nelson's column arrived at the landing, and immediately forming, aided in stemming the tide of the advancing foe, and preventing the utter destruction of the army, until night put an end to the combat, when the whole of Nelson's division had crossed the river, and the division of Crittenden had arrived by steamers from Savannah. General Nelson, in his official report, thus states what he saw.

"I found cowering under the river bank, when I crossed, from seven thousand to ten thousand men, frantic with fright and utterly demoralized, who received my gallant division with cries: 'That we are whipped,' 'Cut to pieces,' etc. They were insensible to shame and sarcasm, for I tried both on them, and indignant at such poltroonery, I asked permission to open fire upon the knaves."

General Buell ordered Nelson and Crittenden to form in front, and attack the enemy at early dawn. Three batteries, with General M'Cook, by a forced march, arrived early on the 7th. The other divisions of Buell

were too slow on the march to be expected on the field that day.

At five o'clock on Monday, the 7th, Nelson on the left advanced in line of battle, and engaged the enemy. Crittenden coming into action soon after, took post on his right, M'Cook then arrived and formed on the right of Crittenden, and soon straggling troops of Grant's corps prolonged the line which was about one mile and a half. Buell's three divisions were not full when the battle opened Monday morning, but the lacking regiments were gradually brought into the rear.

The army was composed as follows:—Brigadier-General Nelson's division—First brigade, Colonel Anmon, twenty-fourth Ohio, commanding—thirty-sixth Indiana, Colonel Gross; sixth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Anderson; twenty-fourth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick O. Jones.

Second brigade, Saunders D. Bruce, twentieth Kentucky, commanding—first Kentucky, Colonel Enyart; second Kentucky, Colonel Sedgwick; twentieth Kentucky.

Third brigade, Colonel Hazen, forty-first Ohio, commanding—forty-first Ohio, sixth Kentucky, and ninth Indiana.

Brigadier-General Tom. Crittenden's division: First brigade, General Boyle; nineteenth Ohio, Colonel Beatty; fifty-ninth Ohio, Colonel Pfyffe; thirteenth Kentucky, Colonel Hobson; ninth Kentucky, Colonel Grider. Second brigade, Colonel William S. Smith, thirteenth Ohio, commanding; thirteenth Ohio, Lieutenant-Colonel Hawkins; twenty-sixth Kentucky, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell; eleventh Kentucky, Colonel P. P. Hawkins; with Mendenhall's regular and Bartlett's Ohio batteries.

Brigadier-General McCook's division: First brigade, Brigadier-General Lovell H. Rousseau; first Ohio, Colonel Edward A. Parrott; sixth Indiana, Colonel Crittenden; third Kentucky (Louisville Legion); battalions fifteenth, sixteenth and nineteenth regulars. Second brigade, Brigadier-General Johnston; thirty-second Indiana, Colonel Willich; thirty-ninth Indiana, Colonel Harrison; forty-ninth Ohio, Colonel Gibson. Third brigade, Colonel Kirk, thirty-fourth Illinois, commanding; thirty-fourth Illinois, Lieutenant-Colonel Badsworth; twenty-ninth Indiana, Lieutenant-Colonel Drum; thirtieth Indiana, Colonel Bass; seventy-seventh Pennsylvania, Colonel Stambaugh.

Major-General Lew. Wallace's division, right of army: First brigade, Colonel Morgan L. Smith commanding; eighth Missouri, Colonel Morgan L. Smith, Lieutenant-Colonel James Peekham commanding; eleventh Indiana, Colonel George F. McGinnis; twenty-fourth Indiana, Colonel Alvin P. Hovey; Thurber's Missouri battery. Second brigade, Colonel Thayer, first Nebraska, commanding; first Nebraska, Lieutenant-Colonel McCord commanding; twenty-third Indiana, Colonel Sanderson; fifty-eighth Ohio, Colonel Bausenwein; sixty-eighth Ohio, Colonel Steadman; Thompson's Indiana battery. Third brigade, Colonel Charles Whittlesey, twentieth Ohio, commanding; twentieth Ohio; fifty-sixth Ohio, Colonel Pete Kinney; seventy-sixth Ohio, Colonel Charles R. Woods; seventy-eighth Ohio, Colonel Leggett.

Nelson's division was first engaged at half-past 5 A. M., and advanced so rapidly as to expose its right flank, when the enemy outnumbered him on the right, and he was forced to retire until reinforced by Boyle's brigade, of Crittenden's division, again moved forward, and drove back the enemy, capturing some of their guns, and occupying the rising ground in the front. On the right of Nelson came up Crittenden. Between eight and nine o'clock, while keeping Smith's brigade on his left up even with Nelson's flank, and joining Boyle's brigade to McCook on the right, in the grand advance, he came upon the enemy with a battery in position, and well supported. Smith dashed his brigade forward; there was sharp, close work with musketry, and the rebels fled, leaving us three pieces—a twelve-pound howitzer, and two brass six-pounders. For half an hour perhaps the storm raged around these captured guns. Then came the reflex rebel wave that had hurled Nelson back. Crittenden, too, caught its full force. The rebels swept up to the batteries, around them and on down after our retreating column. But the two brigades, like those of Nelson to their left took a fresh position, faced the foe, and held their ground. Mendenhall's and Bartlett's batteries now began shelling the infantry that alone opposed them. The resistance was too obstinate for the foe who began slowly to yield. Crittenden pushed them steadily forward. Mendenhall (with his accomplished First Lieutenant Parsons, one of our Western Reserve West-Pointers) and Bartlett poured in their shell.

A rush for the contested battery, and it is ours again. The rebels retreated toward the left. Smith and Boyle holding the infantry well in hand, Mendenhall again got their range, and poured in shell on the new position. The enemy's line now got a backward impulsion, which both Nelson and Crittenden vigorously pushed. The brigade of Wood now arrived, and joined in the pursuit, and the left was safe.

Meantime McCook, in the centre, had fought a fierce fight with the opposing foe, and driven him to the woods. The success on the right was equally marked. As the reinforcements arrived, and the remains of Grant's army were reformed, they continued to strengthen the right. This soon began to tell upon the enemy, whose reserves were exhausted, and at two o'clock the front line began to retire. At a distance of 800 yards he made a stand and opened with his artillery, but being pushed by Crittenden's corps, retired with the loss of a battery. The retreat of the enemy was continued in order, and no pursuit was ordered. The rear guard of the enemy, under Breckinridge, held for the night of the 7th, during a severe rain, the same ground that the enemy had occupied on the night of the 5th. On the 8th, General Buell sent forward General Wood in pursuit. The constant rains had made the roads nearly impassable, and the enemy suffered greatly on his retreat. The official report of General Beauregard placed his loss at 1,728 killed, 8,012 wounded, and 959 missing; total, 10,699. His forces did not retain any of the material captured on Sunday, except that the men badly armed exchanged their weapons for the superior rifles found on the battle-field. The Union loss in the two days fighting was reported as follows:

GENERAL GRANT'S ARMY.

Divisions.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
1. Gen. M'Clermand.....	251	1,351	236	1,848
2. " W. H. L. Wallace.....	228	1,033	1,163	2,424
3. " Lew. Wallace.....	43	257	5	305
4. " Hurlbut.....	313	1,449	223	1,985
5. " Sherman.....	318	1,275	441	2,034
6. " Prentiss.....	196	562	1,802	2,760
	<hr/> 1,349	<hr/> 5,927	<hr/> 3,870	<hr/> 11,356

GENERAL BUELL'S ARMY.

2. Gen. McCook.....	95	793	8	896
4. " Nelson.....	90	591	58	739
3. " Crittenden.....	80	410	27	517
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	265	1,794	93	2,152
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Grand Totals.....	1,614	7,721	3,963	13,508

On the 9th, General Beauregard sent a flag to General Grant for permission to bury the dead on the camp ground captured on Sunday. General Grant replied that he had already caused the dead of both parties to be buried. The number so buried was about 3,000 out of 3,342, reported killed on both sides.

This great battle of Pittsburg Landing, fought on the 7th, the same day that Island No. Ten surrendered, was fought by 140,000 men on both sides, and of whom 3,342 were killed, and 15,933 wounded, was productive of no results upon the fortunes of the war. Immense preparation had been made to collect and equip a vast force to descend the valley of the Mississippi, and the design was frustrated by the mismanagement which resulted in the destruction of Grant's corps. It was simply Ball's Bluff over again on a larger scale. The troops of General Grant, with 38,000 men, had crossed the river without sufficient means of retreat, and with no supports within reach. In a very exposed situation, he scattered his men, and failed to avail himself of the natural defences of the ground, while his own head-quarters were at Savannah, six miles distant, where he was in person when the attack commenced, and which he conceived to be an affair of outposts.

The attack of the enemy was invited by his position, and when that attack took place, early on the 6th, General Wallace, who was at Crump's landing, six miles distant, did not get orders to join until 12 o'clock. He then lost his way, and did not arrive until night, after a march of twelve miles, nor were any orders issued by Grant to the gunboats, the Galena and Lexington in the river. The enemy had promptly availed himself of the Union error, and nothing saved the total destruction of Grant but the weather, which delayed the enemy's attack to the 6th instead of the 5th. As at Ball's Bluff, so here, a comparatively slender force was landed on the enemy's side of the

river, without transports by which to retreat if necessary, or be promptly reinforced. The rebel generals, with quick perception, in the one case as in the other, saw the advantage. They hurled in their overpowering numbers—at Ball's Bluff with absolute success; here with a success that came near being absolute, for the report states that "at 5 o'clock the rebels had forced our left wing back, so as to occupy fully two-thirds of our camp, and were fighting their way forward with a desperate degree of confidence in their efforts to drive us into the river." At that time, nothing but the knowledge that reinforcements were on the other side of the river, seeking some mode of crossing, prevented a most appalling rout. "*Extremely critical!*" are the words of the report. Thousands of our men were weltering in their blood, and other thousands were utterly "worn out by hard fighting." In spite of all the torrents of blood, it was a frightfully narrow escape.

It cannot be pretended that with the prodigious numerical superiority of the Federal army, and with inexhaustible supplies of vessels in the western waters, for transports, there was any necessity for putting or leaving an army division in so unmilitary and dangerous a position. One of two things; either these 38,000 men under General Grant should not have been landed on the western side of the river at all, with Beauregard's army within a day's march, or the supporting columns should have been close at hand. In other words, the fault is with General Grant, who crossed too soon, or with General Buell, who arrived too late. General Grant published a letter in reply to the stricture made upon his conduct, and he alleged that the complaints were made by officers whom he had caused to be arrested for cowardice. He stated that he was at Savannah, to prepare means of transport, in case of Buell's arrival. It does not appear that any such means of transport existed, however.

While these events were passing on the Tennessee river, General Mitchel* had been at Shelbyville, Tennessee,

* Acting Major-General Ormsby McKnight Mitchel was a native of Kentucky, but entered the Military Academy, and graduated June, 1829. On the 1st of July, 1829, a second lieutenant in the second United States artillery. On the 30th day of August, 1829, he was appointed assistant professor of mathematics at the Military Academy of West Point, which position he retained until the 28th of August, 1831. He resigned his military rank on the 30th day of September, 1832, and practised law in the city of

and moved upon the line of the Memphis and Charleston railroad with success. The Confederate general Maxey had left Chattanooga for Corinth, and Breekinridge had been withdrawn from Huntsville. Colonel Turchin's brigade of infantry, with Kennett's cavalry, marched twenty-five miles, over a broken road, in fourteen hours, and entered Huntsville on the night of the 11th, capturing many locomotives, and two siege-guns. Huntsville is one of the most important points on the line of the Memphis and Charleston railroad, and one of the most beautiful cities of the rebel Confederacy. Among the papers captured by Mitchel at Huntsville, was the following from General Beauregard, on the capture of Huntsville :

"CORINTH, April 9.

"General SAMUEL COOPER, Richmond, Virginia:

"All present probabilities are, that whenever the enemy moves on this position, he will do so with an overwhelming force of not less than 35,000 men. We can now muster only about 35,000 effective men; Van Dorn may possibly join us in a few days with 15,000 more. Can we not be reinforced from Pemberton's army? If defeated here we lose the Mississippi valley, and probably our cause; whereas we could even afford to lose for a while Charleston and Savannah, for the purpose of defeating Buell's army, which would not only insure us the valley of the Mississippi, but our independence.

"P. G. BEAUREGARD."

Cincinnati, Ohio, from 1832 to 1834. He next became a professor of mathematics, philosophy, and astronomy, at the Cincinnati college, in Ohio, which position he held from 1834 to 1844. During that time—viz: from 1836 to 1837—he was the chief engineer of the Little Miami railroad, and in 1841 was appointed a member of the Board of Visitors to the Military Academy at West Point. He became the founder and director of the observatory in Cincinnati in 1845, and retained the latter position for several years, during which time he edited and published a noted astronomical journal entitled *Siderial Messenger*. From 1847 to 1848 he was adjutant-general of the State of Ohio, and in 1848 was appointed the chief engineer of the Ohio and Mississippi railroad.

He was for some years connected with the Dudley observatory at Albany, as director, which position he held when, on the 9th of August, 1861, he was commissioned a brigadier-general of volunteers. He was then ordered to report to the commander of the new department of the Ohio, which embraced his native State. Many of the loyal Kentuckians rushed to his standard, and we soon find him in command of a brigade, next a division, and next a column of General Buell's forces. His exploits at Huntsville procured for him, April 15th, the full step of major-general; subsequently, he succeeded General Hunter in command of the Port Royal expedition. The events then lingered until October, when General Mitchel died of yellow fever. The crimes committed by the troops under Mitchel in Tennessee, invoked the court-martial and conviction of Colonel Turchin, but it was not shown that Mitchel was cognizant of them.

Two expeditions were started from Huntsville in the cars—one, under Colonel Sill, of the thirty-second Ohio, went east to Stevenson, Alabama, 272 miles from Memphis, 113 from Nashville, and 179 from Corinth. It is the junction of the Chattanooga with the Memphis and Charleston railroad, which point they seized, 2,000 of the enemy retreating without firing a shot. Colonel Sill captured five locomotives and a large amount of rolling stock.

The other expedition, under Colonel Turchin, of the nineteenth Illinois, went west, and arrived at Decatur in time to save the railroad bridge, which was in flames.

Decatur is a post village of Morgan county, Alabama, situated on the left bank of the Tennessee river, thirty miles west by south-west of Huntsville. It is on the route of the Memphis and Charleston railroad, distant about forty-four miles from Tuscumbia.

On the 24th of April, General Mitchel's advance, under Turchin, reached Tuscumbia, opposite Corinth. Meantime, the gunboats on the Tennessee river effected a passage over the muscle shoals, an extensive series of rapids, which are passable only at very high stages of water.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Halleck at Pittsburg Landing.—Fall of Corinth.—Pursuit.—Memphis Occupied.—General Grant.—End of Campaign.—President Lincoln at West Point.—Halleck at Washington.

GENERAL HALLECK had been appointed to the command of the department of the Mississippi on the 16th of March, but it was not until the 15th of April, after the reduction of Island No. Ten had liberated General Pope's command, and the severe battle at Pittsburg Landing had caused a further assembling of the Confederates at Corinth, and General Mitchel had obtained control of the railroad, that he assumed command in the field. His operations were confined to the reduction of the enemy's position at Corinth, twenty miles distant, where Beauregard had continued in force after he fell back from the battle-field of Shiloh. He had, by river, full communication with Cairo, whither his wounded were sent by steamer, and whence he drew in profusion every needed supply, yet it was not until the close of May—six weeks of "digging"—that he ascertained there was no longer any enemy at Corinth—Beauregard having effected his retreat. Corinth is a very important strategical point. It is situated in a hilly, semi-mountainous country—a branch of the Appalachian range, which diverges from the Alleghany Mountains, and forms the mountains and gold bearing regions of Georgia and Alabama. Here, also, is the junction of the Memphis and Charleston and Mobile and Charleston Railroad companies, which form the intact communication of the Atlantic and Gulf seaboard. It is no doubt the case that the troops were on both sides much disorganized, and time was required to restore the *morale* of the army. Fresh horses were required as well as caissons, gun-carriages, and new arms in place of those abandoned on the fields, but all these were within reach at Cairo and St. Louis. The enemy, with greater wants had less means of supplying

them. General Halleck proceeded with the utmost caution. The troops of Buell and Grant were concentrated with some changes: General C. J. Smith was in command at Savannah, but in very ill health; this division, in the battle of the 7th, had been commanded by W. H. Wallace, who was killed, and General McArthur succeeded him. The division of Prentiss, captured, was assigned to General McKean. Mitchel was making progress on the line of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, while Foster and Pope were descending the Mississippi to take Memphis in the rear. Thus, while Halleck was preparing in front, Mitchel was threatening the right flank and rear of the enemy at Iuka, while Pope and the gunboats were menacing his left and rear at Memphis. On the reduction of Island No. Ten, the command of the flotilla was transferred to Commodore Davis—Commodore Foote being disabled by a severe wound. The fleet was destined to follow the enemy to Fort Wright, fifty miles above Memphis, to which place he had fallen back; some delay took place, caused by difficulty in procuring transports for Pope's army, which was to accompany the fleet; previously, on the 12th April, the fleet got under weigh, the gunboats Benton, Mound City, Pittsburg, Cairo and Cincinnati leading the way.

On the 13th, the fleet arrived off Fort Wright. In this neighborhood the river flows east from Island No. Thirty-Two to Island No. Thirty-Three, when it takes a westerly direction, flowing round the bluff on which Fort Wright is situated, and again takes an easterly course. It thus forms two points; that of Fort Wright on the Tennessee shore, and another nearly opposite in Arkansas. The latter point, flat and marshy, is protected from the overflow of the river by a levee which extends down the whole river to New Orleans; on that point the army of Pope was landed on the night of the 15th, the day on which Halleck took command at Pittsburg. The enemy sent over small parties in skiffs and cut the levee in four places. The water poured through the cuts in torrents, deepening and widening them constantly, until the inundation not only of the point became a certainty, but of the bottom lands of the whole eastern portion of Arkansas. Their object was doubtless to prevent anticipated operations by our army, and it compelled the re-embarkation of the troops upon

the transports. On the 18th, General Pope received orders to repair to Pittsburg Landing, where he arrived on the 24th, and landed at Hamburg, forming the left of Halleck's army, on the same day that Mitchel occupied Tuscumbia. The enemy's force at the same time was augmented by the armies of Van Dorn and Price at Memphis, and the latter general was transferred to the command at Fort Wright.

The enemy's outposts still pressed closely upon Pittsburg. They had strong advance forces at Purdy, Pea Ridge and Monterey, respectively, six, eight and ten miles from the landing. On the 24th April, the several divisions began to move forward slowly: General Hurlbut advanced ten miles and occupied Shiloh Church, which had been held by Beauregard on the 6th; the enemy were driven out with small loss. General Grant also moved his head-quarters nearer the front. The impassable state of the roads, it was alleged, prevented a more rapid movement in advance. A reconnoitring party on the 24th, under General A. J. Smith, pushed forward to Pea Ridge, which the enemy abandoned in haste on his approach; and General Granger, with a cavalry regiment, had an affair with the enemy's cavalry on the same day, making some prisoners. Beginning on the extreme right, which rests upon the river, the advance divisions of the army were placed as follows: Sherman's, McCook's, McArthur's (late C. F. Smith's,) Crittenden's and Nelson's forming the extreme left, its centre resting on Hamburg, on the river, some four or five miles above the landing. The reserve division of the army, commencing at the right, were Wallace's, McClernand's, Hurlbut's and McKean's. General Grant commanded the right and right centre of the army, General Buell the left and left centre, and General Pope the extreme left, in all about 100,000 effective troops. The troops continued to press forward at various points, as circumstances would permit, and on the 3d May, General Paine's division of Pope's corps, reconnoitred in force as far as Farmington, which is fifteen miles from Pittsburg Landing and five miles from Corinth. Here he encountered a force of 4,500 of the enemy, with four guns; after a sharp encounter, the enemy were driven back and the Union troops held the position, throwing out pickets towards Corinth. At the same time an artillery reconnois-

sance was made to Glendale, southeast of Corinth, on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, destroying the bridges there. The brigades of Plumer and Palmer were thrown across the creek that ran in front of Pope's position. On the 9th, a strong force of the enemy under General Bragg attacked them with great vigor, and drove them back over the creek with much loss. General Pope alleged that he withdrew them because he had orders not to pass the creek with his whole force. This was a repetition of Pittsburg Landing on a small scale. Two brigades unsupported across the river were exposed to the blows of the enemy. Why were they exposed if they were not to be supported? The enemy's loss was considerable; among the killed was Colonel Ingraham of Van Dorn's staff. On the 10th May, Pope's corps was reinforced by the arrival of Mitchel on his left. This event caused great rejoicing in Pope's corps. The lines of Halleck's army were now twelve miles in extent, forming the segment of a circle, of which the right under Grant threatening the Memphis road, was about a mile nearer Corinth than the left. The assistant secretary of war, F. A. Scott, personally represented the war office on the ground. On the 25th, Sunday, the army moved up to within three fourths of a mile of the enemy's works and entrenched. It was now forty-five days since General Halleck had taken the command at Pittsburg Landing, and moving forward by regular approaches, he had, with occasional skirmishes, gained about sixteen miles of ground, but the amount of labor done was very great. The long line of the advancing army, in order to keep an unbroken front, was compelled to make roads. Hardly a division made a movement that did not cut a new road through the woods, with bridges for the ravines, and long lines of corduroy for the swamps. Even brigades required short roads off to the left or right of their division road so as to let them into their places in the line; and thus the whole country was reticulated with a network of roads. In this immense labor the time was occupied. While he was thus digging his way to Corinth, McClellan was digging his way to Richmond on the Peninsula, and at about this date, the latter telegraphed to Halleck, asking how he was "coming on with his great victories in the west." This was received as a sarcasm, for which, while General Halleck

declared that "he might be allowed a little time as well as McClellan," subsequent events showed, McClellan was not forgiven. On the morning of the 28th, General Halleck sent Colonel Elliott with a large cavalry force, to seize Booneville on the Memphis and Charleston Railroad; and three reconnoitring parties, one each from Thomas on the right, Buell in the centre, and Pope on the left, advanced to feel the enemy's position and ascertain his strength. They were met with great determination, but succeeded in holding the ground gained. While these events were in progress, Commodore Davis and the flotilla that had reached Fort Wright April 13th, opened its fire upon the forts on the 15th, with fourteen mortar-boats. The siege was continued until the 8th May, when the Confederate flotilla, eight gunboats, of which four were rams, advanced up the river and engaged Davis' vessels; after an hour's conflict, they retired with the loss of their boats. The operations against the fort were then prolonged until the 31st May, when it was discovered that the place was abandoned, all the guns carried off, and stores and supplies destroyed. These events uncovered Memphis to the Union forces on the river, and, as a consequence, Corinth was no longer tenable. When, therefore, General Halleck was finally ready for the assault of Corinth, he discovered it to be evacuated. The movement was complete, every thing had been carried off or destroyed. The case was similar to the fall of Yorktown, which had been virtually turned by the gunboats. The combat of the 28th was described in General Halleck's despatch, as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
CAMP ON THE CORINTH ROAD, *May 28, 1862.*

"Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

"Three strong reconnoitring columns advanced this morning on the right, centre and left, to feel the enemy and unmask his batteries. The enemy hotly contested his ground at each point, but was driven back with considerable loss.

"The column on the left encountered the strongest opposition. Our loss is twenty-five killed and wounded. The enemy left thirty dead on the field. Our losses at other points are not yet ascertained. Some five or six officers and a number of privates were captured.

"The fighting will probably be renewed to-morrow at daybreak. The whole country is so thickly wooded that we are compelled to feel our way.

"H. W. HALLECK, *Major-General.*"

"NEAR CORINTH, *May 30, 1862.*

"HON. E. M. STANTON:

"General Pope's heavy batteries opened upon the enemy's detachments yesterday about 10 A. M., and soon drove the rebels from their advanced batteries.

"Major-General W. T. Sherman established another heavy battery yesterday afternoon within one thousand yards of their works, and skirmishing parties advanced at daybreak this morning. Three of our divisions are already in the enemy's advanced works, about three quarters of a mile from Corinth, which is in flames. The enemy has fallen back of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

"H. W. HALLECK, *Major-General.*"

"NEAR CORINTH, *May 30, 1862.*

"HON. E. M. STANTON:

"Our advance guard are at Corinth.

"Conflicting accounts as to the enemy's movements. He is believed to be in strong force on our left flank, some four or five miles south of Corinth, near the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.

"H. W. HALLECK, *Major-General.*"

These despatches are dated on the 30th, and it is remarkable that, although General Halleck had in person been forty-three days within sixteen miles of Corinth, and had, on the 28th, sent forward three reconnoitring parties, he knew nothing whatever of the movements of the enemy. In his despatch of the 31st he says:

"The evacuation of Corinth commenced on Wednesday (the 28th), and was completed on Thursday night (the 29th), but in great haste, as an immense amount of property was destroyed and abandoned.

"No troops have gone from here to Richmond unless within the last two days."

Thus, when Pope and Sherman were "establishing their batteries," the evacuation had already taken place. He supposed the enemy on his left flank, at the moment that Granger was driving him eight miles south of Corinth. At 5 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, some explosions were heard in Corinth, which excited attention in Pope's corps, and his pickets finding no skirmishers in front, rode up to the enemy's entrenchments and found them deserted. On report of this fact the whole division was ordered forward, and occupied the city at 11 A. M. At the same time General Granger, of the cavalry, left Farmington, in direct pursuit of the enemy. On the evening of the 30th, he overtook their rear guard at Tuscumbia Creek, eight miles south of Corinth.

It was driven out on the 31st, and on the 1st of June the pursuit was recommenced. This was the same day as the battle of Fair Oaks in the Peninsula, and of the retreat of Jackson from Strasburg. Granger overtook the enemy at Booneville. Meantime Colonel Elliott, who had left camp on the 28th, had entered Booneville, and captured two thousand eight hundred prisoners, including five hundred deserters, three hundred stragglers, and two hundred sick and convalescent, and two thousand five hundred small arms, including one thousand five hundred destroyed by Elliott at Booneville; also some cars which had not passed the Hatchee river before the bridge was burned, and on these events, General Halleck sent the following despatch to Washington:

“HALLECK'S HEAD-QUARTERS, *June 4.*

“HON. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:

“General Pope, with forty thousand men, is thirty miles south of Corinth, pushing the enemy hard. He already reports ten thousand prisoners and deserters from the enemy, and fifteen thousand stand of arms captured. Thousands of the enemy are throwing away their arms.

“A farmer says that when Beauregard learned that Colonel Elliott had cut the railroad on his line of retreat, he became frantic, and told his men to save themselves the best way they could.

“We have captured nine locomotives and a number of cars. One of the former is already repaired, and is running to-day. Several more will be in running order in two or three days.

“The result is all I could possibly desire.

“(Signed)

H. W. HALLECK,

“*Major-General Commanding.*”

General Beauregard afterwards officially contradicted and ridiculed these statements.

Both Granger and Elliott then continued the pursuit some miles further without any material results. The enemy took position at Twenty Mile Creek, twenty-five miles from Corinth, and remained there until June 8th. General Pope remained near Booneville drawing his rations from Tennessee river; and the corps of McClelland occupied the country between the Tennessee river and the Mississippi Central railroad, and north of the Memphis and Charleston railroad. General Halleck occupied Bolivar, and a force under Marsh seized Jackson, Tennessee. When the enemy had evacuated Fort Wright, and also Fort Randolph, which is a short distance above,

they carried away or destroyed every thing of value. The troops under Colonel Fitch, landed and took possession without any opposition. The fleet, consisting of the Benton, Louisville, Carondelet, Cairo, and St. Louis, under Commodore Davis, and the ram fleet under Colonel Ellet, got away at noon of the 3d, for Memphis, and reached Island No. Forty-four, near Memphis, at night, having on the way captured the steam transport Sovereign. The Confederate fleet, consisting of the following vessels:—the General Van Dorn (flagship), General Bragg, General Lovell, Jeff. Thompson, Beauregard, Little Rebel, and Sumter, were discovered lying near Memphis. During the night the rebel fleet moved down the river, and at daylight were seen coming up in line of battle. Our gunboats had, in the mean time, weighed anchor, and, followed by several rams, moved toward the enemy's fleet. The action was commenced by the "Little Rebel," and terminated, in an hour and a half, in the capture or destruction of five vessels. The Van Dorn escaped. The Union ram Queen of the West was disabled. After the return of our gunboats from the pursuit, Commodore Davis sent the following note to the mayor of the city of Memphis:—

"UNITED STATES FLAG-STEAMER BENTON,
OFF MEMPHIS, June 6.

"I have respectfully to request that you will surrender the city of Memphis to the authority of the United States, which I have the honor to represent.

"I am, Mr. Mayor, with high respect, your obedient servant,
"C. N. DAVIS, *Flag Officer.*"

In reply the mayor says:—

"Your note received, and in reply I have only to say, as the civil authorities have no means of defence, by the force of the circumstances, the city is in your hands.

"JOHN PARK, *Mayor.*"

At 11 o'clock A. M., Colonel Fitch, with the Indiana brigade, arrived and took military possession. He immediately notified the judges of the courts to dismiss all causes based on the Confederation. Judge Swayne refused to hold a court under military dictation. The stores were all closed and the city was quiet, but a quantity of cotton that had been fired was still burning.

Memphis remained under command of Colonel Fitch until June 17th, on which day General Lew. Wallace, who

on the evacuation of Corinth had been despatched towards Memphis without any definite orders, and having lost his communication with Halleck's army (they having been cut off by guerillas), he made for the city, and took command by virtue of his superior rank. He at once took possession of the newspaper offices, installed northern editors, and forbade any criticism on military officials. Meanwhile Colonel Fitch had left Memphis on the 13th, to accompany an expedition composed of the gunboats *St. Louis*, *Lexington*, *Conestoga*, and *Mound City*, accompanied by transports carrying the forty-third and forty-sixth Indiana regiments, under Colonel Fitch, for the purpose of removing the obstructions in White river. When near White river, a Confederate steamer was captured.

On the 17th, the expedition reached *St. Charles*, eighty-five miles above the mouth of the river, where the enemy had erected a battery. An engagement ensued lasting an hour and a half. While the gunboats engaged the battery, the troops, under Colonel Fitch, landed a short distance below and proceeded to storm the place. He carried it at the point of the bayonet, and with small loss. The enemy lost one hundred and twenty-five killed and wounded. During the cannonading a ball entered the boiler of the *Mound City*, causing a fearful explosion and loss of life. The crew consisted of one hundred and seventy-five men, of whom nearly one hundred and twenty-five were killed or wounded. Colonel Fitch took possession of *St. Charles*, Arkansas, which he continued to hold.

On the 26th June, General U. S. Grant was appointed to the command of Western Tennessee, head-quarters at Memphis, and Colonel Anthony was appointed Provost Marshal of Memphis. On the same day General L. Wallace and staff left for their homes. The season of active operations was now passed, and three new divisions of the army were created. The army of West Tennessee, under General Grant, was assigned to a line running along to the Memphis and Charleston railroad from Corinth to Memphis, and along the line of the Mobile and Ohio railroad in the direction of Kentucky, where General Quimby was now in command of a division of Kansas troops. General Sherman's corps was between Grand Junction and Mem-

phis. That of General Lew. Wallace was on the line of the Mississippi Central, between Grand Junction and Jackson. The army of the Ohio, under Buell, occupied the Memphis and Charleston railroad, from the Alabama line to Chattanooga; and General Mitchel was assigned to East Tennessee. General W. T. Sherman was relieved of his command, and ordered to Washington. General Pope repaired to Washington on a furlough. On his arrival, he spent daily some time on the floor of the House, and many members were introduced to him, to whom he expressed very freely his views concerning the conduct of the war both in the West and in the East. He stated his belief that the forces of the rebels at Richmond were overrated, as the forces of Beauregard at Corinth were before Corinth was evacuated. He represented that it was the concurrent testimony of spies and deserters that not less than one hundred and fifty thousand or two hundred thousand armed rebels were behind Beauregard's intrenchments; but upon the occupation of Corinth, it was proved beyond a question, that he never had more than seventy-five thousand men there. General Pope alleged that the rebel army at Richmond did not exceed the latter number. The result was his appointment to the army of the Potomac, June 23. The troops in Tennessee having reached their new destination, the summer campaign was over. The enemy showed no immediate disposition to move. On the 15th June, General Beauregard turned over his command, which was reported 80,000 strong, at Okalona, to General Bragg. He reached Montgomery on the 17th, and repaired in person to Richmond. General Kirby Smith was reported 20,000 strong at Chattanooga. General Price with 15,000 at Fulton, while Van Dorn held Granada with a small cavalry force. The enemy had carried out his policy of destroying the cotton by fire. On the Mississippi, from Memphis to Vicksburg, a belt of country fifteen miles on each side had been stripped of its cotton. The banks of the White and Arkansas rivers were also devastated by the torch, and it was estimated that 800,000 bales were burnt. After the continued excitement of the ninety days that preceded the fall of Corinth and Memphis, a season of quiet, in a military sense, fell upon the Western department. During the active season, the army of the Mississippi certainly achieved magnificent advantages, and in nothing so

well served the country as in furnishing victory after victory at the time when delay and disaster at the East would else have plunged the people in gloom and desperation: Missouri, Kentucky and Tennessee had been restored to the Union. The national arms pushed into the Gulf States, had secured possession of all the great rivers and routes of internal communication through the heart of the Confederate territory, and the enemy's strength was so shaken as to prevent any immediate renewal of the war in that quarter. At the same time reverses overtook the operations at the East. General Pope succeeded to the command of the armies of Virginia on the 23d, and that event was speedily followed by the reverse of McClellan before Richmond, from the 26th June to the 1st July. The reverses in Virginia were alike marked in the army of the Peninsula, and in the valley, and in both cases ascribed to the head of the war department against whom a strong pressure was made. The President hesitated in making another change in the war department, or, as he himself expressed in homely phrase, "to kill another skunk." He adopted the middle course, of calling General Halleck to Washington, as the general-in-chief. Thus virtually superseding Stanton in the military direction of affairs.

The order was as follows, under the executive hand, and not like others through the war department:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, *July 11, 1862.*

"*Ordered,* That Major-General Henry W. Halleck be assigned to the command of the whole land forces of the United States as general-in-chief, and that he repair to this capital as soon as he can with safety to the position and operations within the department now under his special charge.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

This appointment seemed to have resulted from an interview which the President, on the 24th June, sought with the venerable General Scott, at West Point. The order was issued on the 11th July, and in accordance with it, General Halleck, on the 16th July, took leave of the Western armies in a general order.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Army of the Potomac.—General Pope.—Reorganization.—New War Policy.—Pope's Address.—His Stringent Policy.—Modified by General Halleck.—General Order of Jefferson Davis, outlawing Pope and his Officers.—Cedar Mountain.—Retreat.—Catlett Station.—Manassas.—Second Bull Run.—Chantilly.—Death of Kearney.—Harrison's Landing.—Evacuation of Peninsula.

WHEN General Pope was appointed to the command of the army of Virginia, much time was spent in reorganizing the different corps and preparing them for the new campaign, and it was not until early in August that the troops moved forward. At that time the valley army occupied an extent of ten miles, from a mile and a half west of Middleton to Front Royal. Milroy at Cedar Creek reconnoitred towards Edensburg, eight miles beyond Woodstock, without meeting the enemy, and returned to Sharpsburg on the 7th. On the 5th of July the command of General Hatch, consisting of the first Maryland, first Vermont, first Michigan, first Virginia, and fifth New York, consolidated in one brigade, left Camp Lookout, near Middleton, and proceeded *via* Front Royal to Sperryville. On the 12th the command reached Culpepper, and drove in a party of the enemy eight miles beyond towards Sperryville, twenty-five miles northeast of Front Royal. The main body of Banks's corps followed the march of Hatch. A forward movement of General Hatch was made to Orange Court-House, and the bridge over the Rapidan, five miles from the Court-House, was burned on the 6th by some mistake of subaltern officers. The bridge was necessary for the passage of the Union troops. General Sigel's troops, which were guarding the gap at Luray, had daily encounters with the enemy's scouts, and he sent a force towards Madison and occupied it. General Jackson was reported at Gordonsville with 20,000 troops.

The appointment of General Pope represented an

attempted change of policy in the conduct of the war. Hitherto the movements had been based on the superior strength and resources of the North and the justice of its cause. It had been assumed that a large and well organized northern army, aided by the fleet, would suffice, in accordance with the laws of civilized warfare, to crush any military resistance to the authority of the Government, thus restoring the operation of the Constitution over all the States. In this view the commanders were to strike blows at the hostile armies and respect the property and rights of citizens and non-combatants. It was assumed that the leaders of the rebellion exercised a coercion over the free will of the people, and that the removal of that power, by defeat in the field, would of necessity restore the Union and end the war. Another party in the government, however, assumed that the Southern institutions were the cause of the war, and that peace could not be restored until those institutions were overthrown. To do that the Constitution and the relations of the government to the States under the old Union must be disregarded, and such a war policy adopted as would insure the destruction of the system of black labor, whether the Union was ever restored or not. General McClellan, as the commander-in-chief under the President, represented the former policy. All the local laws and the rights of citizens under them were respected. This was styled the "rose-water system," which the radical party under Secretaries Stanton and Chase opposed. These advocated the system of general confiscation of property, including the emancipation of blacks as the armies advanced. This party was the opponent of General McClellan, and when General Pope was installed in the command it was as the instrument of the ultra party. He had been appointed June 23d, but remained in Washington until July 14th, when, he took the field by issuing the following general order:

"WASHINGTON, *Monday, July 14.*

"To the Officers and Soldiers of the Army of Virginia:

"By special assignment of the President of the United States, I have assumed command of this army.

"I have spent two weeks in learning your whereabouts, your condition and your wants; in preparing you for active operations, and in placing you in positions from which you can act promptly and to the purpose.

"I have come to you from the West, where we have always seen the backs of our enemies—from an army whose business it has been to seek the adversary, and to beat him when found—whose policy has been attack and not defence.

"In but one instance has the enemy been able to place our Western armies in a defensive attitude.

"I presume that I have been called here to pursue the same system, and to lead you against the enemy.

"It is my purpose to do so, and that speedily.

"I am sure you long for an opportunity to win the distinction you are capable of achieving—that opportunity I shall endeavor to give you.

"Meantime I desire you to dismiss from your minds certain phrases which I am sorry to find much in vogue amongst you.

"I hear constantly of taking strong positions and holding them—of lines of retreat—and of bases of supplies. Let us discard such ideas.

"The strongest position a soldier should desire to occupy is one from which he can most easily advance against the enemy.

"Let us study the probable lines of retreat of our opponents, and leave our own to take care of themselves.

"Let us look before us and not behind.

"Success and glory are in the advance.

"Disaster and shame lurk in the rear.

"Let us act on this understanding, and it is safe to predict that your banners shall be inscribed with many a glorious deed, and that your names will be dear to your countrymen forever.

"(Signed) JOHN POPE, *Major-General Commanding.*"

The tone of this order was far from assuring the public mind or giving confidence to the troops. It was regarded as a covert attack upon General McClellan, inspired by those the carrying out of whose policy had been the condition of General Pope's advancement. The hope that had been entertained that the appointment would produce more harmony among the generals and greater unity of action was thus dissipated, and serious forebodings arose of those disasters which soon destroyed Pope and laid open Washington to the enemy. A succession of orders followed this first one of General Pope. Three were issued on the 18th of July. The first (order No. 5) directed that "the army will subsist upon the country where its operations are carried on." The second, that no baggage trains would be used for cavalry, and they were to levy contributions on the villages for support. The third, that in case of injury to roads, telegraphs, bridges, &c., or if a soldier is fired upon, all citizens within five miles should be held responsible. "They shall be turned out to repair the damage, and be levied upon for the expense, in money, of the force employed in

their counties." "All guerillas taken were to be shot without civil process."

An order of the 25th of July, forbade the placing of guards over private property, in places occupied by the Federal troops. In all civilized warfare it is an indispensable duty of an invading general to enforce discipline, and scrupulously guard the rights of peaceable citizens. And all the generals had hitherto observed the rule, and detailed guards over exposed property of citizens.

This was changed by General Pope, who ordered that "no soldier, serving in the army, shall hereafter be employed in such service." Another order, July 23d, compelled all persons, including peaceable families, within the county occupied by the army, to take the oath of allegiance, and give security to keep it, or depart out of it on pain of being shot. This operated with great severity, alike upon Union men and upon Confederates, since as happened a short time after, when Pope was driven out those who took the oath were now subject to the reprisals of the enemy, and they were in consequence ruined. The promulgation of the order caused great numbers to leave their homes, and this fact was advanced as showing the necessity of the order which was enforced with great rigor. On the 23d of July, Colonel Lloyd, of the sixth Ohio cavalry, commanding at Luray, in pursuance of General Pope's order, arrested all the male inhabitants of the town, and lodged them in the court-house, preparatory to administering the oath of allegiance. Oaths under such circumstances, were of no value, since they might be compelled on both sides, but being compulsory, could rightly be enforced on neither. General Pope also issued orders to the different generals commanding divisions in his army corps, requiring them to seize all horses and mules in their vicinity, especially in Culpepper county, not absolutely needed by the inhabitants of the surrounding country. They were also directed to seize all stores not absolutely needed, for the maintenance or subsistence of the inhabitants. All these orders caused the utmost excitement. The Confederate government immediately retaliated. On the 1st of August, Jefferson Davis issued a general order, recounting the order of President Lincoln, of 22d of July, for the seizure of private property of Confederates, General Pope's order of July 23d, for the arrest of disloyal male citizens, and stating

that in consequence of this order General Steinwehr had arrested five citizens of Page county, Virginia, as hostages for any Union troops that might be shot by guerillas, and alleging that these orders were promulgated only after the signing of a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war, therefore General Pope and all his officers are exempt from the operation of the cartel, and in the event of the capture of any of them they shall be amenable with their lives, for any Confederate citizens, who may suffer under the aforesaid orders, and shall be hung man for man. This order was accompanied by a letter to General Lee, instructing him to communicate this order to President Lincoln, after which, if the orders of Pope are carried out, not only will Pope and his officers be held to be robbers and murderers, but the same rule will apply to his troops, and a war of extermination be accepted.

The effect upon the troops of General Pope, was perhaps the worst result of the orders. They were told to subsist upon the enemy, that no guard should be placed over property, that those who defended their own property might be deemed guerillas, and shot without trial, while those citizens who did not take the oath were to be driven out. It was, therefore, not a matter of surprise that the soldiers, especially those whose presence had already been cause of complaint, deemed they had permission to help themselves to any thing they could find. The demoralization that ensued was so detrimental to the public service, that on the 14th of August, General Pope published the following order, the terms of which indicate the excesses it forbade.

“HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF VIRGINIA,
“NEAR CEDAR MOUNTAIN, *August 14, 1862.*

“GENERAL ORDER No. 19.

“The major-general commanding discovers with great dissatisfaction that General Order No. 5, requiring that the troops of this command be subsisted on the country in which their operations are conducted, has either been entirely misinterpreted or grossly abused, by many of the officers and soldiers of this command. It is to be distinctly understood that neither officer nor soldier has any right whatever, under the provisions of that order, to enter the house, molest the person, or disturb the property of any citizen whatsoever.

“Whenever it is necessary or convenient for the subsistence of the troops, provisions, forage, and such other articles as may be required, will be taken possession of and used, but every seizure must be made solely by the order of the commanding officer of the troops there

present, and by the officer of the department through which the issues are made. Any officer or soldier who shall be found to have entered the house or molested the property of any citizen will be severely punished. Such acts of pillage and outrage are disgraceful to the army, and have neither been contemplated nor authorized by any officer whatsoever. The perpetrators of them, whether officers or soldiers, will be visited with a punishment which they will have reason to remember, and any officer or soldier absent from the limits of his camp, found in any house whatever, without a written pass from his division or brigade commander, will be considered a pillager, and treated accordingly.

"Army corps commanders will immediately establish mounted patrols under charge of commissioned officers, which shall scour the whole country for five miles around their camps at least once a day, and at different hours, to bring into their respective commands all persons absent without proper authority, or who are engaged in any interruption of citizens living in the country; and commanding officers of regiments or smaller separate commands will be held responsible that neither officers nor men shall be absent from camp without proper authority.

"By command of

MAJOR-GENERAL POPE.

"R. O. SEFRIDGE, A. A. G."

The subsistence of the army became more difficult than ever, as a consequence of the ruin of the surrounding country. Instead of guarding property, it became necessary for a mounted corps to watch the troops. On the following day, August 15th, General Halleck issued from Washington a general order, stating that the oath of allegiance shall be administered to *no person against his will*, and "no compulsory parole of honor be received." The order also called attention to the articles of war, which punished with death pillage or plundering, "either in our own or enemy's territories," any private who leaves the ranks to enter a private house, will be punished with death, and his officers held responsible. General Casey, at Washington, in command of provisional brigades, also issued an order denouncing for punishment whoever shall commit any waste or spoil upon property, or any acts of violence towards unarmed women or children.

Meantime the two armies north and south were gradually edging towards each other; and some changes were made in commands. In Banks's corps, on the 18th July, Brigadier-General Angur was transferred to the first division; Brigadier-General Price to the first brigade; and Brigadier-General Greene to the second brigade of the division. On the same day two brigades of the enemy, under

Ewell, attacked General Hatch at Orange, compelling him to fall back upon Culpepper, which he reached on the 20th. He thence sent out reconnoitring parties towards Sperryville and Madison without meeting any of the enemy. Jackson was ascertained to be in force at Louisville Court-House, Gordonsville, and Charlottesville; and General Stewart at Atlee's Station. On the 19th, General King, at Fredericksburg, sent a cavalry force to destroy the bridge at Beaver Dam, on the Virginia central road, between Jackson's force and Richmond. This he accomplished, burning the dépôt and cutting the telegraph, when he returned without much loss. On the 22d July, the cavalry again reconnoitred in the direction of Richmond, defeating a body of cavalry at North Anna river, and pursuing them to the Hanover Junction, capturing horses and arms. In the Valley, General Piatt, of Cincinnati, was in command at Winchester, and his pickets were driven in by the cavalry scouts of the enemy. At the same time, Union pickets near White House Ford were attacked and driven through Thornton's Gap with a small loss. The enemy at Gordonsville was now, July 29th, increasing his strength, and he occupied Stannardsville in force.

The army of General Pope was composed of the corps of McDowell at Fredericksburg, embracing the divisions of Angur and King; the corps of Banks at Culpepper, and Sigel's corps on the right. Also a portion of Shields' division, and Wadsworth's forces around Washington, in all 60,000 to 70,000 men. The utmost uncertainty prevailed as to the position of the enemy; and on the 6th August, two columns were sent out from King's division—the first under General Gibbon, and the second under General Cutler. The first column proceeded towards Richmond, followed by General Hatch. On reaching that river, he was warned of a force of the enemy threatening his rear from Bowling Green. He immediately retrograded his steps, but a portion of General Hatch's wagon train had already been captured by the enemy within six miles of Fredericksburg, and the corps returned to camp. Cutler's column had, meanwhile, proceeded by the Mount Pleasant road to Frederickville Station, on the central railroad. Here they tore up eighty lengths of rail, blew up the road-bed with powder, and destroyed the telegraph, water-tanks, &c. The force then returned, but narrowly

escaped capture by the same enemy who had captured Hatch's wagon train. Meantime General Buford skirmished towards the Rapidan, but on the 8th was recalled to Culpepper, where preparations were made for retreat, as the enemy was reported advancing. General Pope reached Culpepper on the 7th of August, and concentrated his troops between Culpepper and Sperryville—General Sigel at the latter place; McDowell and Banks were at Culpepper. On the night of the 7th, Banks's corps were pushed forward five miles south of Culpepper—Rickett's division three miles in his rear. Sigel, who had marched during the day from Sperryville, remained at Culpepper. The enemy, in the meantime, had crossed the Rapidan at Barrett's Ford on the 7th, and on the 8th, General Bayard, who had been guarding the river with his cavalry regiment, was driven back. General Crawford's brigade, composed of the twenty-eighth New York, tenth Maine, forty-sixth Pennsylvania, and fifth Connecticut, and ten pieces of artillery, was then ordered forward to support him. The enemy in front, under Ewell and Winder, continued to press heavily upon Crawford, who fell back, but the enemy did not advance. At daylight on the 9th, it was discovered that the enemy had advanced as far as Cedar Run Mountain, holding its wooded sides and cleared slopes. Only a small portion of their strength, however, was visible. They also held a range of elevations and ravines westward of the mountain. An elevated spot, a mile and a half from the mountain, and a mile long, east and west, was selected by General Banks as the best place to receive their attack. At three o'clock in the afternoon, a battery on our front, at a mile and a half range, opened on us, and their infantry drove in our pickets in the woods on our right wing. Afterwards, battery after battery was unmasked on the mountain slopes and on every hill, making a crescent of batteries of nearly three miles, commanding our position for two hours. Our batteries were exposed to cross-fires and flank-fires at every point. The rebels evidently outnumbered us in guns and weight of metal. We replied shot for shot till five o'clock, when the rebels opened an enfilade battery on our right.

General Banks here gave orders to cease firing and charge this battery. The duty was assigned to Crawford's brigade, of Williams' division, and the forty-sixth Penn-

sylvania regiment led the charge. Behind the battery was a thicket of shrub oak, and before the forty-sixth Pennsylvania regiment could reach the rebel guns they were mowed down by a terrific fire from the thicket. The rest of the brigade was quickly brought up, and subsequently the rest of General Williams' and General Augur's commands, but the brigades of the rebels were found at every point.

The enemy was reinforced by the division of General A. P. Hill, and the fight continued very fiercely until nine p. m., when our forces retired from the field, taking a new position beyond reach of the enemy's guns, which were in an advantageous position on the heights.

General Banks received great injury from a cavalryman who ran against him. The loss was reported by General Pope at 1,500 killed, wounded and missing. The proportion of officers killed was large. One gun and three caissons were lost. All the troops behaved well except the third Wisconsin, which broke at the first fire, and on being rallied with great difficulty, again broke, its colonel being killed and its major wounded. It was expected that the battle would be renewed on Sunday, but the intense heat of the weather probably prevented it. Monday was spent in burying the dead, and at night the enemy retired over the Rapidan, followed by the cavalry under Buford.

The results of the contest were not decisive. The enemy claimed that he had 6,000 troops only in hand. The Union artillery was compelled to change its position with loss. The charge upon the enemy in the woods was not successful, and General Crawford had a truce with the enemy, who retired only after two days. It is to be remarked that although McDowell was within three and a half miles of Banks, when the latter was attacked, and Sigel within seven miles, Banks was not reinforced during the battle. This, it was alleged, was owing to the fact that General Banks was not aware of the strength of the enemy, and did not therefore ask for reinforcements until too late.

The Confederate general published the following order:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS, VALLEY DISTRICT,
“August 12th, 6½ P.M.

“COLONEL:—On the evening of the 9th instant, God blessed our arms with another victory. The battle was near Cedar Run, about six miles from Culpepper Court-House. The enemy, according to the statements of prisoners, consisted of Banks', McDowell's, and Sigel's commands. We have over four hundred prisoners, including Brigadier-General Price. While our list of killed is less than that of the enemy, yet we have to mourn the loss of some of our best officers and men. Brigadier-General Charles S. Winder was mortally wounded while ably discharging his duty at the head of his command, which was the advance of the left wing of the army. We have collected about 1,500 small arms, and other ordnance stores.

“I am, colonel, your obedient servant,

“T. J. JACKSON, *Major-General*.

“Colonel R. H. CHILTON, A. A. G.”

In this battle General Price and numbers of commissioned officers were captured by the enemy. They came under the retaliatory orders of the Confederate government, upon the orders of General Pope. They were confined as felons, and held to answer any acts of General Pope, under the new policy he had proclaimed, but which was modified by the orders of August 14th and 15th.

On the 13th, General Pope's forces advanced towards Orange, and General Buford, returning from the pursuit, reported the enemy four miles back of the Rapidan, his main force at Gordonsville, holding the Central railroad from Louisville to Charlottesville. The lines of General Pope were advanced to the Rapidan, on a line sufficiently broad to observe and check any offensive move of the enemy, and yet with his divisions so posted as to be capable of immediate concentration. Head-quarters were at Cedar Mountain.

On the 16th, when McClellan's army was on its way to Alexandria, two regiments of the enemy's cavalry pushed across the Rapidan, and driving in Sigel's pickets, reconnoitred close to his head-quarters, and fell back followed by Major Kreps. In consequence of the injury received by General Banks, the command of the second corps had devolved upon General Williams. Brigadier-General Crawford took the division of General Williams, and General Green the division of General Augur, who was severely but not dangerously wounded.

The events on the Peninsula had now reached a crisis which involved the withdrawal of McClellan's army from

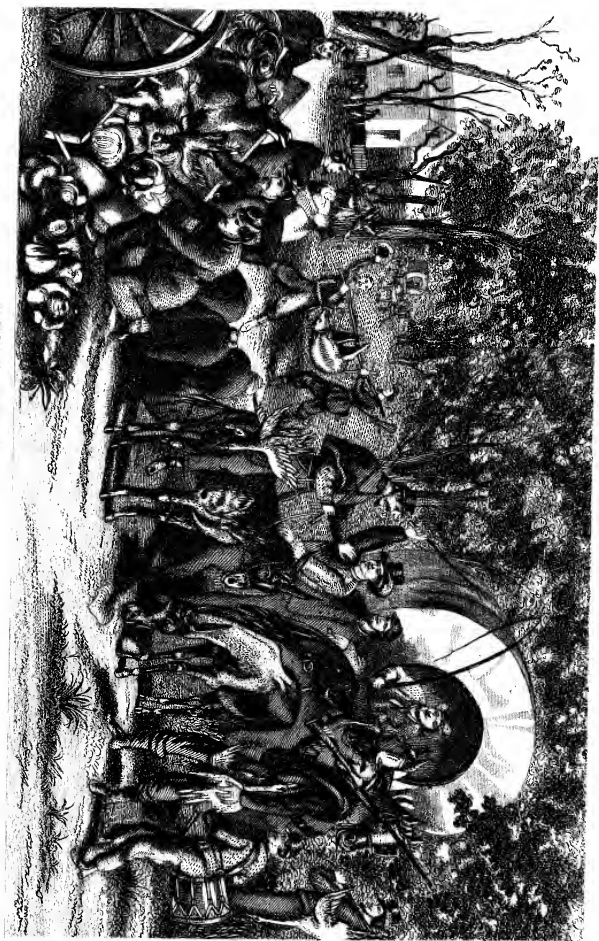


PLATE I. A CIRCUS, DRAWING, PART II. THE CAMP



Harrison's Landing, where it had reposed since the disasters which marked the close of June. It was no sooner in motion than the enemy, instead of pursuing it down the Peninsula, gathered their main force to fall upon Pope, whose army had already been felt of by Jackson at Cedar Mountain. Jackson, Longstreet, Ewell, and Hill, were at Gordonsville. On the 18th of August, at night, the enemy crossed the Rapidan by three fords, and on the morning of the 19th captured the union pickets and advance guard. On the 18th, in the afternoon, a hurried order reached camp to break up and start for the Rappahannock without delay. The corps of Banks led the retreat, followed by McDowell, while Sigel covered the retreat. General Pope retained his head-quarters at Cedar Mountain until midnight, when he left for Culpepper, which he reached August 19th, at two A. M. The road was crowded with wagons. All the energy of the commanding general was requisite to prevent a disaster. At Culpepper the streets were crowded worse than the roads, and almost the whole transportation of the army was in danger of being choked and delayed. The general, who now evidently thought it was no time to "leave our own lines of retreat to take care of themselves," rode to the front, started the leading trains, hurried every one as he returned, ordered all hesitating or injured wagons into the fields, cleared the whole road, and returned to town. Taking his station on the Court-House corner, where the trains were to divide, he spent the rest of the night with his staff, bringing order out of confusion, urging forward every train, addressing drivers, wagon-masters, and quarter-masters. Great delays were inevitable, and the army was far behind the hour set for crossing the Rappahannock. The Culpepper region was abandoned, and the lines withdrawn fifteen miles to the line of the Rappahannock, edging towards Aquia Creek, in order not to be cut off from the troops of McClellan's army, coming from Fortress Monroe, and to make head against the direct advance of the enemy, whose strength was reported at near eighty thousand. The extreme left of the enemy was under Jackson; General Lee commanded the centre. Generals Stuart and Robinson, with six thousand cavalry, were north of the Rappahannock. On the 10th August, the Union pickets were driven it at Brandy Station. On the

21st, the enemy made some feints to cross the Rappahannock, and on the 22d, Shurz was ordered to cross the river in order to feel their strength in that direction. He there encountered a strong force of the enemy, and fell back with some loss. On Friday, the 22d, General Fitz John Porter joined Pope, having arrived from the Peninsula *via* Aquia Creek. Burnside had now massed a large army at Fredericksburg, and Pope's army was well in hand. McClellan, freed from the net which held him in its meshes on the Peninsula, was landing at Alexandria and his troops getting ready to sustain Pope. The two armies were thus in a position to be speedily concentrated. On Saturday, the 23d, the enemy opened with his guns upon Rappahannock Station with great vigor. At nine o'clock the union troops withdrew from the hills on the south side of the river, crossed the bridge and destroyed it, with a quantity of stores and cars to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. The corps of McDowell, Banks, and Reno, retired a few miles and encamped for the night, while Sigel marched for White Sulphur Springs, six miles from Warrenton. Meanwhile, on the 22d, an extraordinary disaster befell the army. The baggage train of General Pope and staff, were at Catlett's Station, and, as usual, without scouts and pickets, a practice in the army which seems to have been well-known to the enemy. At eight o'clock in the evening the train was suddenly surrounded by a body of cavalry of Stuart's corps, and captured. The escort, under Colonel Kane, were completely surprised, their guns being in the wagons. All the private papers and letters of General Pope, copies of despatches and reports, memoranda relating to the campaign and to the army, copies of telegrams sent, all despatches received from the President, Halleck, and the war department, orders issued to generals of corps and divisions, all maps and topographical charts, containing information of the greatest value; in a word, the whole history and plan of the campaign, the numbers and disposition of troops, were all revealed to the enemy by this disaster. By this raid Pope and his officers lost all their baggage. Twenty supply trains, with an immense quantity of stores and munitions, were taken and destroyed. While this continued fighting was kept in front, engaging the attention of Pope, the enemy were preparing a vigor-

ous blow for his flank and rear. Jackson left the front, and marching with six days' rations in the haversacks, and no baggage, rapidly to the left, ascended the valley behind the Bull Run mountains to White Plains, eight miles north-east of Warrenton. He thence sent his cavalry, under Colonel Lee, through Snecker's and Aldie gap, to reconnoitre under Fitzhugh Lee. On the night of the 26th, it reached Burton's, four miles east of Manassas, and attacked the train. The onslaught created a panic among the troops there stationed, mostly the twelfth Pennsylvania, which fled in confusion. The enemy captured a battery of six guns, and placed it in position, occupying the fort. General Taylor, with the first, second, third and fourth New Jersey volunteers, left Alexandria at two o'clock Wednesday morning, with orders to retake the fort at all hazards.

On passing Bull Run bridge, General Taylor formed his men in line of battle, and advanced upon the enemy's batteries, but was repulsed to Bull Run bridge, where they were reinforced by the eleventh and twelfth Ohio, who were in turn driven back; the loss in killed and wounded was 250. The enemy was thus established in force on the rear of Pope, who was at Warrenton Junction, with Hooker's and Porter's corps. McDowell and Sigel were at Warrenton, with Reno and Heintzelman, who arrived on the 26th, and Fitz John Porter soon after, with one of his divisions, the other being at Barnett's ford of the Rappahannock. Burnside was at Fredericksburg, and McClellan's troops arriving from the Peninsula, were at Alexandria. Burton's Station is on the railroad between Warrenton Junction and Manassas. When Lee's cavalry had established itself there, Jackson by a forced march reached Centreville. When General Pope received this news, he broke up his camps and marched in three columns. He ordered McDowell and Sigel to march upon Gainesville, which is on the line of the railroad by which Jackson had advanced. He was thus interposed between Jackson and Longstreet, who was following through the gap. At the same time Reno's division and Kearney's, of Heintzelman's corps, were ordered to Greenwich, which is on the turnpike, equidistant from Gainesville and Manassas Junction, to which point General Pope marched with the corps of Porter and Hooker. As Hooker on the 27th advanced towards Manassas, he encountered at Kettle Run the enemy under Ewell.

A sharp conflict took place, which was terminated by the approach of night. Hooker's corps were now exhausted of ammunition; they had arrived at the Junction with only forty rounds each. Orders were sent to Porter, who was still at the Junction, nine miles distant, to be on the ground to the support of Hooker, at daylight; but the difficulties were such that he did not arrive until 10 o'clock A.M. Meantime, however, the appearance of McDowell at Gainesville, whence he had driven Longstreet back towards the gap, had caused the enemy to concentrate at Centreville, from which they retired towards Washington, occupying Fairfax station, Berks station, Fairfax-Court House, and Falls Church. As the enemy retreated through Centreville, he was closely followed by Kearney, who occupied it on the night of the 28th. Reno was at Manassas. Early on the morning of the 29th, Kearney and Sigel took positions at Bull Run, facing north. The enemy being towards Washington and facing south, the natural positions of the armies thus being reversed. Kearney had forded Bull Run one mile above the bridge, which was destroyed, and formed on the right of Sigel, whose left rested on Bull Run, and his right crossing the Leesburg road, rested on the Warrenton turnpike, to the right, across the turnpike. Kearney formed with his right resting on Bull Run. The two divisions thus formed a convex curve, touching at each extremity on Bull Run, which also curved. Hooker and Reno were in reserve. Shurz, of Sigel's right, was between the Leesburg road and the Warrenton turnpike, and at 10 o'clock he attacked the enemy who was in front, but was met with a force that he found great difficulty in resisting, and at 10.30, Hooker was ordered to the front, supported by Augur. The strength of the enemy, momentarily increasing, forced back these two divisions, uncovering Kearney's left flank. Kearney immediately changed front, with two brigades on his right, taking the enemy in the flank and driving him through the woods. In this position night fell on the contending armies, and Kearney held his advanced position. The corps of Porter was, during this combat, at Manassas Junction, two miles in the rear. General Pope complained that he did not attack the enemy in flank.

In relation to this battle, General Pope sent the following despatch:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, FIELD OF BATTLE,

"GROVETON, NEAR GAINESVILLE, *August 30, 1862.*

"To Major-General HALLECK, General-in-Chief, Washington, D. C.:

"We fought a terrific battle here yesterday with the combined forces of the enemy, which lasted with continuous fury from daylight until after dark, by which time the enemy was driven from the field, which we now occupy.

"Our troops are too much exhausted to push matters, but shall do so in the course of the morning, as soon as Fitz John Porter's corps comes up from Manassas.

"The enemy is still in our front, but badly used up.

"We have lost not less than eight thousand men, killed and wounded, and from the appearance of the field the enemy have lost at least two to our one. He stood strictly on the defensive, and every assault was made by ourselves.

"Our troops have behaved splendidly.

"The battle was fought on the identical battle-field of Bull Run, which greatly increased the enthusiasm of our men.

"The news just reaches me from the front that the enemy is retreating towards the mountains. I go forward at once to see.

"We have made great captures, but I am not able yet to form an idea of their extent.

"JOHN POPE, *Major-General Commanding.*"

The enemy during the night was reinforced by the division of Longstreet, while General Pope's communication had been cut, and his horses had been two days without forage, and the men without rations. He had demanded these of General McClellan, at Alexandria, who replied, that both rations and forage would be sent, if Pope would send a cavalry escort for them. But Pope's cavalry were thirty miles distant from Alexandria, and it was not thought worth while to send them for forage, although they had had none for two days.

There were, at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 30th, when Porter's corps arrived, five divisions, numbering about 60,000 men, although Hooker's had been reduced to 2,441 men. In the order of battle for the day, Heintzelman commanded the right, Porter the centre, McDowell the left, and Sigel, whose corps had borne the brunt the day before, the reserve. At 10 o'clock Heintzelman advanced skirmishers into the wood on the right of the battle-field of the day before. The line of battle was entirely changed. The right was further advanced, and the left withdrawn, so that the front was almost south, on the same field where, in July 1861, it pointed exactly south. At three o'clock General Stevens attacked on the right. It was soon ascer-

tained that the whole force of the enemy had come up under Lee, who, effecting the junction with Jackson, compelled the change of front. The whole force of the enemy should have been sooner concentrated; but when Jackson had passed the mountains at Aldie and Snecker Gaps, Longstreet, with the main body, was to pass through Thoroughfare Gap, which was obstructed during Jackson's last Shenandoah campaign to prevent our pressing too closely upon his rear. Immense rocks had been thrown down and trees felled for this purpose. The removal of these obstacles caused delay. The engagement continued warm along the whole line for some time, when a sudden irruption on the Union right, compelled some of Heintzelman's men to give ground. This was however a feint. The real attack was on the left with overwhelming force. The enemy had massed his reinforcements, on his right, and at 5 o'clock pushed mass after mass on the devoted corps of McDowell, after overwhelming Porter, and driving him back on the centre and left. The two corps were irretrievably broken, and involved in this ruin Shurz, who had been ordered to the left from the reserve. Duryea's Zouaves held the extreme left, where swarmed some 3,000 stragglers in the retreat to Centreville, from the broken corps of Porter and others. A heavy fire of batteries suddenly opened on this mass; a rush to the rear took place, which threatened disaster, but it was stayed by the steadiness of the right. Heintzelman and Sigel stood firm, and thus checked the pursuit of the left, by the enemy. Nightfall now closed the action, and the army retired upon Centreville. While this battle was going on, Franklin's corps was six miles in the rear and Sumner ten miles distant. Richardson and Kimball, of Sumner's corps, arrived at Centreville Saturday night from Alexandria, and the remainder of the corps, under Sedgwick, arrived from Arlington on Sunday morning, and Banks at Manassas. The two corps of Franklin and Sumner afforded 30,000 men, with which to renew the combat on the 31st, but General Pope judged his troops too much exhausted by hunger and fatigue to renew the battle. The following correspondence took place:

"CENTREVILLE, *August 31, 1862.*

"SIR:—Many of the wounded of the army have been left on the field, for whom I desire to send ambulances. Will you please inform

me whether you consent to a truce until they are cared for? I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"JOHN POPE,
"Major-General United States Army, Com'g.
"COMMANDING OFFICER, Confederate Forces, near Groveton."

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
"August 31, 1862.

"Major-General JOHN POPE, U. S. A., Commanding, &c. :

"SIR:—Consideration for your wounded induces me to consent to your sending ambulances to convey them within your lines. I cannot consent to a truce nor a suspension of military operations of this army. If you desire to send for your wounded, should your ambulances report to Dr. Guilet, medical director of this army, he will give directions for their transportation. The wounded will be paroled, and it is understood that no delay will take place in their removal. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"R. E. LEE, General."

The following letter was dated four days after the engagement :

"CENTREVILLE, VIRGINIA, September 3, 1862.

"General ROBERT E. LEE, Commanding Confederate Army :

"GENERAL.—Medical Director Guilet, of the Confederate army, and Medical Director McFarlin of the United States army, have just arrived here from the battle-field, near Manassas. The accounts they give are far more serious than my previous information had led me to believe. Our wounded soldiers, to the number of nearly three thousand have no commissary stores, and my supply of medical comforts are wholly inadequate. With every kindly intention and effort on the part of those under your command, the loss of life must be very great, unless food and the means of transporting the wounded within our own lines are promptly supplied. I know of no source of adequate supply nearer than Washington. If, General, you can consistently with duty, transmit supplies of food and transport wagons for wounded to pass through your lines to and return to the battle-field, you will save a great many lives and much suffering. If you cannot do this, I beg that you will, for humanity sake, point out some other way in which medical relief may be obtained. I am within your lines, and, of course, cannot provide the necessary relief without your permission. I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"RICHARD H. COOLIDGE,
"Medical Inspector, United States Army."

The effective strength of the army under Pope, on Monday, was, according to General Pope, reported at 60,000 men. There were also 25,000 volunteers on their way from Washington, besides Banks, with 10,000, who joined on Monday. The corps under General Banks left the Rappahannock west of Warrenton on the 26th; pass-

ed to Brentsville, and thence north of Manassas Junction, crossing the southern extremity of the old battle-field, and Bull Run, and Mitchell's Ford, joining the Union forces east of Bull Run on the night of the 30th. On the 31st they were engaged in holding a ford against the enemy. No portion of his corps was in any engagement excepting being shelled on Tuesday, near the Rappahannock. On that day the enemy were evidently working towards Fairfax Court-House, for the purpose of turning Pope's right and rear, while strong cavalry demonstrations were made on the left as feints. The whole force of the enemy surrounded three sides of the Union position. The division of Couch and one brigade of Sumner held Fairfax, and Hooker reinforced them and took command, posting himself in front of Germantown. McDowell held the turnpike from Centreville to within two miles of Fairfax. Heintzelman with Reno, was in the rear. The latter was pushed north of the road about two and a half miles east of Centreville. General Pope made preparations to strengthen his right in the direction of Germantown, where he expected the attack which took place late in the afternoon of Monday. He was met by Hooker and Reno, who had been reinforced on his left by Kearney. The battle here, called Chantilly, was very severe but indecisive, and was attended with the loss of General Phil. Kearney, and General Stevens. So far as the enemy's design to break through our lines at this point, cut off Pope's supplies, and, perhaps, reach Washington before the army of Virginia, was concerned, they failed, but the loss of two such officers as Kearney and Stevens, and of other officers and privates, amounting to from 200 to 1,600, according to different computations, and the fact that we merely repulsed this very important attack, were circumstances not calculated to give encouragement. In these engagements the enemy captured thirty pieces of cannon, many thousand side-arms, and great quantities of stores, much of which he destroyed. 7,000 prisoners were paroled. The army now held positions from Flint Hill, behind Difficult Creek, towards Manassas, Hooker holding the advance towards Germantown. On Tuesday afternoon the whole army commenced its retreat to the entrenchments at Washington, on the south side of the Potomac, which were reached in comparative good order on

Tuesday, the 2d, on which day the following order appeared :

"HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE ARMY, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
"WASHINGTON, *September 2, 1862.*

"By direction of the President, Major-General McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington, and of all the troops for the defence of the capital.

"By order of the Secretary of War.

"E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

The enemy's cavalry followed. They made no attack on the troops, although large captures of stores were made. At four o'clock, on the morning of the 3d, a train of one hundred wagons, with commissary stores, was intercepted by the enemy between Fairfax and Centreville, and driven off toward Manassas before the party could be overtaken. They secured the entire train. The shattered columns were gathered in confusion around Washington, presenting nearly the same state of things as when they retired from Bull Run in 1861. General McClellan had once before the same task of reorganization.

When General McClellan had fallen back before the enemy, on the first of July, and collected his broken columns under cover of the gunboats on James river, he was in a very perilous position. His means for a forward movement had been greatly reduced, while the enemy were in apparently very great strength. To retreat down the Peninsula in face of a powerful enemy was a hazardous proceeding. To embark the army, even if there had been sufficient transports, while the enemy commanded the opposite shore, was not a promising operation. The army of General Pope was not yet ready to threaten Richmond from the north, and all the resources of the enemy were available for any exigency. Under such circumstances, there was no resource but to remain at Harrison's Landing, and by seeming to threaten Richmond, keep the enemy employed until time was gained for a new combination. The Government had, on the first of July, promptly called for 300,000 men, and this was followed by a demand for 300,000 more. Time was required, however, for the enrolling and equipping of these new troops. To abandon the Peninsula before they were ready, would have been to release the victorious army of Lee from

Richmond and let it rush forward upon the disorganized corps which were about to be combined under Pope, thus placing the National Capital in very great danger. By continuing to hold Harrison's Landing, therefore, General McClellan in effect saved Washington, but he did it at an immense loss of life. The mortality from the malaria of the swamps was frightful, and a stream of troops continually poured off into the hospitals of the northern cities. The troops of General Burnside, arrived from North Carolina, did not ascend the river to the camp of McClellan, but landed at Fortress Monroe, where they remained until August 1st, when they got the order to proceed to Aquia Creek, which they reached August 2d. The difficulty of extricating the army from the Peninsula first occupied the attention of General Halleck when he reached Washington to assume command, July 22d. On the 24th he left Washington, in company with General Burnside, for McClellan's head-quarters, to consult on the position of the army. General McClellan required 50,000 fresh troops to make an advance, but General Halleck assured him there were but 20,000 to spare, and McClellan agreed to make the attempt with that number. General Halleck returned to Washington on the 27th, and received a telegram from McClellan that 35,000 men would be required. This was more than could be spared in the judgment of General Halleck, and the evacuation was ordered on the 6th, against the strong protestation of McClellan. There were at that time 90,000 men with McClellan, 10,000 with Burnside at Fortress Monroe, 40,000 with Pope, before Washington, 20,000 with Wadsworth in Washington, 10,000 at Harper's Ferry, and 10,000 with General Cox in Western Virginia, making an aggregate of 180,000 men, of whom one-half was within twenty-five miles of Richmond under McClellan, who estimated the enemy at 200,000, but promised with a reinforcement of 33,000 to capture Richmond. That would leave 55,000 to cover Washington, and by attacking Richmond, it would be impossible for the enemy to leave it and attack Washington. General Halleck, however, impelled by the influences which had placed him in command, decided that McClellan should be withdrawn and join Pope before Washington. It was apparent that without the utmost celerity of movement after starting, the enemy could crush Pope before

McClellan could reach him, but to move 90,000 men with their material was a vast undertaking, the more so that experience had shown the unreliability of the War Department for means of transportation. He returned to Washington on the 27th, and immediately conferred with the President and Secretary of War. General Pope, after a long conference, left on the following day for Warrenton to put his troops in motion, and at the same time, Burnside's troops embarked from the Peninsula and landed at Aquia Creek. McClellan, meantime, made many demonstrations towards the enemy in different directions, and these were loudly proclaimed by the press as steps to the capture of Richmond. The "advance" was described with great minuteness of detail, and the general adroitly, in a general order, complained to the government that they were "revealing his plans." All this succeeded in inquieting the enemy, and on the 31st of July, a large artillery force with heavy guns went down from Richmond, on the south side of the James river, and opened a fierce fire on the fleet, causing it to change position, without, however, doing much damage. This fact, that batteries of the enemy reached the shipping, determined General McClellan to dislodge them. On the 2d, 600 troops crossed the river and destroyed the houses and woods that gave shelter to the enemy, while the gunboats shelled the shores below. On the 3d, the troops across the river were reinforced, and reconnoitred fourteen miles towards Petersburg, and skirmished with the enemy and returned to the river.

The events in the valley, under General Pope, had now so far progressed that the pressure upon the enemy from the north was daily increasing. The moment of evacuation from the Peninsula had therefore arrived. General Burnside's troops left the fortress on the 2d, and preparations for removing heavy guns and baggage were made by a supply of transports. Meantime, on the 4th, Hooker's and Sedgwick's divisions, with four batteries all under Hooker, moved forward to the attack of Malvern Hill, nine miles towards Richmond. This was duly proclaimed as the renewed forward movement. The position was occupied by two of the enemy's regiments of infantry, which retired upon Richmond. The enemy immediately began to concentrate his forces round Mal-

vern Hill, where Hooker remained until Sunday the 6th, when he fell back to the encampment, and Butterfield's brigade crossed to the south side of James river. General Hooker, before the war committee, thought proper to state as follows :

" And I will say further, that after General McClellan received his orders to abandon Harrison's Landing, I went to him voluntarily, and suggested that, with the force we had there we could take Richmond, and pressed him to do it. So confident was I that we would be successful, that I was willing to take the advance, and so assured him. This interview took place at 12 o'clock on Sunday. From that interview I returned to my camp, stopping on the way two hours. On reaching my camp, I found on my table an order from General McClellan to prepare myself with three days' rations and the usual amount of ammunition, and to be ready to march at 2 o'clock on Monday. This order was communicated to the whole army, and I firmly believe that order meant Richmond. I had said to General McClellan that if we were unsuccessful it would probably cost him his head, but that he might as well die for an old sheep as for a lamb. I told him that I knew of no better place to put an army than between Johnston—who was at that time in Pope's front—and the defences of Richmond; that the troops holding those defences would have to march to the succor of Jackson, and would be compelled to come out and give battle outside of their defences, where I knew we were always stronger than the enemy. But before the time arrived for executing that order it was countermanded, and hence the results of Pope's campaign."

Transports had now arrived, and an order appeared for the shipment of the heavy guns. Monday, the 11th of August, four batteries of artillery were shipped on board vessels, and towed down the river. The next day the entire artillery reserve was also sent in the same direction. Orders were then issued for all the extra baggage, ammunition, tents, knapsacks, and other articles, to be placed on board transports. On the 14th, the engineer regiment got the route by the new road, and were followed by the corps of Heintzelman, composed of Hooker's and Kearney's divisions, which took the Coles Ford route on the 15th, to Williamsburg. Porter's corps proceeded on the line to Charles City Court-House. Franklin's corps followed Porter's route, and was succeeded by Franklin and Keyes, Sumner closing the infantry column. Three United States cavalry regiments and the Pennsylvania regiments covered the rear. On the 14th, Heintzelman's corps embarked from Yorktown, followed by Keyes and Porter from Newport News, where Franklin also embarked. Sumner sailed

from Fortress Monroe. Sedgwick's corps followed for the same place. Porter's corps was ordered to report to Burnside, at Aquia Creek, where he arrived on the 22d. The movement of the army, under the circumstances, was very prompt and rapid; the army numbered 90,000 men, a large number sick, and it had an immense material to be moved. On the 3d of August, a telegraphic order was made to evacuate. On the 4th, General McClellan made a strong protest against the movement. General Halleck replied, reiterating the order on the 6th. On the 11th, batteries were shipped, and on the 14th most of the troops embarked at Fortress Monroe for Alexandria. General McClellan left Harrison's Landing on the 16th, and reached Fortress Monroe on the 19th. All day the Roads were filling up with the immense fleet, embracing every conceivable kind of craft, presenting, as it turned the point of Newport News, a grand, though melancholy sight. Melancholy, because it filled the mind with the recollection of the great and profitless events and scenes since the Potomac army, the grandest the continent ever beheld, landed there last Spring, and commenced its proud, confident, even defiant march up the Peninsula; because it brought to mind the bloody contests it had seen, the tens of thousands slain; the tens of thousands more wasted by disease; the untold human suffering; the bloodiest page in modern warfare; because it overwhelmed the mind with the contrast of what that army was with its promises, its hopes, and the expectations reposed in it, and what it had become, what it had done, and what it had failed to do, and what it was about to do—returning with less than half its numbers, along the route it went, by which it advanced, almost every mile of which is marked by unenumerated graves of fallen heroes. So ends the campaign of the Peninsula—so comes back the army of the Potomac!

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Expedition of Burnside.—Its Design.—Capture of Newbern.—Battle.—Beaufort Captured.—Opened to Trade.—Withdrawal of Troops.—Hilton Head.—Fernandina taken.—Jacksonville.—Brunswick.—Hunter in Command.—Pulaski.—Hunter's Order to Free Negroes.—President Lincoln Revokes it.—Charleston.—James Island.—Benham Arrested.—James Island Evacuated.—Negroes Disbanded.—Hunter superseded.

THE expedition of General Burnside to the coast of North Carolina, the successful landing of which was described in a previous chapter, was designed in its inception, to have aided the movement upon Richmond, by approaching the point from the south-east, on the line of the Norfolk and Petersburg railroad, and as such was planned by General McClellan, as a branch of the great forward movement, initiated by the February orders of the President. After landing at Roanoke Island, and occupying the adjacent shores—Edenton and other points—preparations were made to extend the occupation of the North Carolina coast. The events on the Potomac resulting in the evacuation of Manassas, and the concentration of the enemy at Richmond, changed the aspect of affairs for Burnside, for whom fears were entertained, as he proceeded northward. The governor of North Carolina had ordered a draft of citizens, for the reinforcement of the Confederate army. The citizens of Tyrrel county, who were opposed to the draft, invited the occupation of Columbia, which is on the north side of Albemarle Sound, in the view that if captured and paroled, they would be enabled to remain passive during the contest. Accordingly General Foster, with 2,000 men, left Roanoke Island for Columbia. Meantime, however, the order for draft had been countermanded, and when the expedition arrived, it found Columbia deserted, and the expedition returned to Roanoke Island on the following day. While this operation was being executed, preparations for the whole force to move upon

Newbern, North Carolina, had been completed, and on the 10th of March, the same day on which Centreville was evacuated, the whole force sailed for Pamlico Sound. Newbern is a flourishing city, on the Neuse river, at the confluence of the Trent, and where the Neuse widens into a broad arm before discharging itself into Pamlico Sound. It is connected with Raleigh, ninety miles distant, by the North Carolina railroad. The expedition at Hatteras was joined by the fleet, under Commodore Rowan, and the whole reached the Neuse on the 12th, when the fleet began shelling the point which had been selected for landing. At 11.30, the disembarkation had been effected, and the troops began to advance, under Reno, without meeting the enemy. After a march of four miles, the army encamped for the night, and at daybreak of the 14th, resumed the forward movement in three columns, under Generals Foster, Reno and Parke.

The advance under Reno soon encountered the enemy, who held a line of intrenchments extending from the river at Fort Thompson, where it was protected by a battery of thirteen guns, the distance of a mile. The force of the enemy was eight regiments of infantry, five hundred cavalry, and eighteen guns, under Brigadier-General L. O. Branch. General Foster's brigade was ordered up the main country road, to attack the enemy's left; General Reno up the railroad, to attack their right, and General Parke to follow General Foster, and attack the enemy in front, with instructions to support either or both brigades. General Foster's brigade advanced up the main road, the twenty-fourth Massachusetts was sent into the woods to the right of the road, and opening a heavy fire on the enemy, commenced the action of the first brigade. The twenty-seventh was sent to their left to support them, and news being received that the enemy were trying to outflank us on the right, the twenty-fifth was sent out to resist the movement. The twenty-third being moved to the front next in line of battle, opened fire upon the enemy, which was replied to by very heavy volleys, and a cannonade from a park of field-pieces behind the breastwork. The tenth Connecticut moved to the extreme right, where the ground was very marshy, and had a difficult position to hold. The line of battle was completed by Parke's brigade, which following up the main road, was placed in

line between the tenth Connecticut and twenty-first Massachusetts, the fourth Rhode Island holding the right of line, the eighth Connecticut the next place, the fifth Rhode Island next, and the eleventh Connecticut on the left. The guns of the enemy played upon this line with great effect, and the twenty-first suffered so severely that Colonel Clark determined upon storming the battery in his front. The regiment leaped forward at the double-quick, and won the breastwork upon the railroad. The colors were immediately planted upon a frame house, and the sight of them threw the enemy's gunners into panic, and they fled. The regiment now charged upon the guns, but were taken in flank by a reinforcement of the enemy, and escaped over the parapet. Meantime the fourth Rhode Island had been ably sustaining its ground against a battery of five guns. They got the order to charge, went at the double-quick directly up to the battery, firing as they ran, and entered the right flank between a brick-yard and the end of the parapet. When fairly inside, the colonel formed the right wing in line of battle, and at their head charged down upon the guns at double-quick, the left wing forming irregularly, and going as they could. With a steady line of cold steel, the Rhode Islanders bore down upon the enemy, and, routing them, captured the whole battery, with its two flags, and planted the stars and stripes upon the parapet. The eighth Connecticut, fifth Rhode Island, and eleventh Connecticut, coming up to their support, the rebels fled with precipitation, and left us in undisputed possession. General Reno finally ordered a charge, which was led by the fifty-first New York, up an acclivity over brushwood and abatis into the redan. The fifty-first Pennsylvania, for a long time held in reserve, was ordered up to participate in the decisive charge of the whole brigade upon the line of redans, and passing through the fifty-first New-York, as it was lying on the ground, after having exhausted all its ammunition, came under the heaviest fire, and without flinching or wavering, moved to its place, and rushed, with the other regiments, upon the defences of the enemy. This movement was supported by the fourth Rhode Island from the captured batteries, and the enemy, already demoralized by the breaking of their centre, fell back before the grand charge upon the left and front of their position, and fled in confusion. The Union loss was ninety-one killed,

466 wounded. By this victory our combined force have captured eight batteries, containing forty-six heavy guns, and three batteries of light artillery, of six guns each, making in all sixty-four guns; two steamboats, a number of sailing vessels, wagons, horses, a large quantity of ammunition, commissary and quartermaster's stores, forage, the entire camp equipage of the rebel troops, a large quantity of rosin, turpentine, cotton, etc., and over two hundred prisoners.

The enemy, after retreating in great confusion, throwing away blankets, knapsacks, arms, etc., across the railroad bridge and country road, burned the former, and destroyed the draw of the latter, thus preventing further pursuit, and causing detention in occupying the town by our military force.

The fleet continued its way to the city, which was found abandoned. The enemy fired the railroad bridge and the county road bridge over the Trent, a number of cotton batteries, and also the city in several places. The army in the meantime had arrived in front of Newbern, but the bridge being burned it encamped on the outside. With the aid of two small steamers that the enemy had abandoned, the corps of General Foster were ferried over and took possession of the town. Many acts of wanton destruction of property were committed before order could be established. General Foster having appointed a provost-marshal, before nine o'clock that night perfect order prevailed throughout the city. Citizens applied for protection to their property in many instances, and when real danger existed it was afforded. The negroes were the most difficult to control. Relieved from the strict rule which prohibits a negro from being abroad at night, they prowled about the streets until a late hour, but were quiet about ten o'clock.

On the 15th the following order appeared:—

“HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT NORTH CAROLINA,
“NEWBERN, *March 15, 1862.*

“SPECIAL ORDERS, No. 51.

* * * * *

“4. Brigadier-General J. G. Foster is hereby appointed military governor of Newbern and its suburbs, and will be obeyed and respected accordingly.

“5. Brigadier-General J. G. Foster, military governor of New-

bern, will direct that the churches be opened at a suitable hour to-morrow, in order that the chaplains of the different regiments may hold divine services in them. The bells will be rung as usual.

* * * * *

"By command of Brigadier-General A. E. BURNSIDE.

"LEWIS RICHMOND, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*"

The enemy retired for some distance, and General Branch was superseded by General Ransom, who had been an officer of the United States army.

The town of Beaufort, having a population of 6,809, has the best harbor on the North Carolina coast, is situated to the southeast of Newbern, on Onslow bay. The harbor is commanded by Fort Macon, and the Nashville steamer was then in port. General Burnside, at the close of March, despatched a force to occupy Beaufort, and reduce Fort Macon. On the 18th March, Generals Burnside and Parke made a reconnoissance toward Beaufort, and General Parke's brigade embarked on the 19th to Morehead City. On the 20th, the troops reached Newport, hurrying forward to prevent the threatened advance of the rebels and the burning of railroad bridges. They reached Newport, nine miles on the road, in time to save the bridges, and encamped there over night. On the 22d they entered Morehead City, and found it evacuated by the inhabitants. Lieutenant Flagler, ordnance officer, and a member of General Parke's staff, crossed over to Fort Macon, a distance of two miles across Rogue's Sound, with a flag of truce, and demanded a surrender, which was refused, and preparations were made for a regular siege. The fort is situated off a bluff on Rogue's Bank, one mile and three-quarters from the town. It commanded the entrance to the harbor, having a full sweep of fire over the main channel. Opposite the fort, at the entrance of the harbor, is Shackleford Bank, one mile and a half across. The fortification was of hexagonal form, had two tiers of guns—one in a casemated bomb-proof, and the other *en barbette*. Its armament consisted of twenty thirty-two pounders, thirty twenty-four pounders, two eighteen-pounders, three field-pieces for flanking defence, twelve flank howitzers, eight eight-inch howitzers (heavy), eight eight-inch howitzers (light), one thirteen-inch mortar, three ten-inch mortars, and two Coehorn mortars—making

a total of eighty-nine guns. The war garrison of the fort was three hundred men.

The fort was occupied by 500 troops, under Lieutenant Smith. The fire opened upon the fort from three shore-batteries on the 26th, followed by the fire from the fleet of three steamers, under Commander Lockwood.

When within range, and as near as the shoals allowed us to approach, the Daylight opened fire, followed in succession by the State of Georgia, Commander James F. Armstrong; the gunboat Chippewa, Lieutenant commanding A. Bryson; and the bark Gemsbok, Acting Lieutenant Edward Cavendish. The three steamers moved around in a circle, delivering their fire as they came within range, at a mile and a quarter distant from the fort. The gunboat attack on the fort was not borne meekly, for the ellipse had not been sailed over before Captain Pool opened on the squadron from his heavy guns on the south angle of the upper terrapline with great precision. His columbiads and six-inch rifles were served so well that a shot entered the Daylight on the starboard quarter, breaking up several bulkheads; a shell tore through the Georgia's flag; the rigging of the Daylight was cut up; the Chippewa was grazed; and the Gemsbok had some of her braces and backstays carried away. The sea now became so rough that the boats hauled off, after fighting one hour and a quarter. The boats were so unsteady that their shot did not take effect.

Meantime the siege batteries had been energetically worked. These were three in number—one of three thirty-pounder Parrott guns, commanded by Captain Lewis O. Morris, of company C, first artillery (regulars); one of four ten-inch mortars, commanded by Lieutenant D. W. Flagler in person; and one of four eight-inch mortars, commanded by Second Lieutenant M. F. Prouty, of company C, twenty-fifth Massachusetts volunteers. Captain Morris was assisted by First Lieutenant Cowan and Second Lieutenant Pollock; Lieutenant Flagler by Captain Duncan A. Pell, of General Burnside's staff, and Captain Ammon, of the third New York artillery; Lieutenant Prouty in part by Captain Caswell and his fighting sailor, James Judge. The mortars were worked by detachments from company I, third New York artillery, the Parrotts by Captain Morris's own regulars. The batteries were all constructed at

the rear of the sand-hills, the sides and front being formed of sand-bags, of which the walls of the service-magazine were also made. The platforms were laid as substantially as the shifting nature of the sand would allow, and suitable embrasures were constructed for the Parrott guns. The ten-inch mortars were placed furthest from the fort, the distance being one thousand six hundred and fifty yards; the Parrott guns were two hundred yards directly in front; and the eight-inch mortars two hundred yards still further on, and a little nearer the beach. Besides these, a small rifled howitzer was taken from the little captured steamer *North State* and placed in battery, in charge of Captain Caswell of that vessel and some of his crew. The whole siege train, then, consisted of eight mortars and three rifled cannon (if we except the small howitzer, which, however good in a ship's launch, can hardly be termed a siege-piece). On the two barges towed down by the *Alice Price*, four were thirty-pounder Parrotts, and a twelve-pounder Wiard steel gun, protected by bales of wet hay and cotton, which formed temporary embrasures. At 9 o'clock the scene was very grand, and would have afforded the materials for a Vernet battle-piece. The squadron steaming slowly in their elliptical course, and firing by turns; the fort pouring fire and smoke at two sides; our land-batteries all engaged at once; the smoke-puffs of the badly-sent bombs showing clear and white against the blue sky; the Confederate flag flying over the green slopes of the work; and the bright sun above all shining on the picture. The thunder of cannon shook the solid ground, and the window-panes rattled in the houses as if they would be shivered the next instant. At 10 o'clock the gunboats drew off, and the terrific cannonade continued until 4 P. M., when the place surrendered. The garrison were allowed the honors of war. The officers retained their side-arms and all paroled. Seven men were killed and eighteen wounded, two mortally. The enemy's loss is not known.

The capture of Fort Macon gave possession of the harbor of Beaufort, and General Burnside could now receive supplies and reinforcements from vessels of large class, which could not by any possibility cross the bar at Hatteras.

Meantime General Reno had been sent by General Burnside to destroy the Dismal Swamp canal. He land-

ed, accordingly, at Elizabeth City on the 19th, with five regiments. Colonel Hawkins leading the advance with three regiments, lost his way, and General Reno encountered the enemy at South Mills, intrenched with batteries in position, in the edge of a wood, which commanded the approaches over the open fields. Colonel Howard, of the marine artillery, in advance, fired upon the enemy, and our pieces were put in position for a three hours' artillery duel. General Reno sent regiments to the right and left to outflank the enemy: the movement was finely executed. When Colonel Hawkins came up, General Reno ordered him to the right, but coming into the open field, he charged on the enemy with the bayonet.

A charge was then made by other regiments on both flanks of the enemy, who retreated to the canal locks, and thence to Norfolk. Our loss in commissioned officers was, killed, one; wounded, seven; non-commissioned officers, killed, two; wounded, thirteen; privates, killed, six; wounded, forty.

General Reno, after remaining six hours on the field of battle, returned to Elizabeth City. Seventeen of our wounded were left on the field in charge of a surgeon, with a flag of truce.

The enemy's loss was reported thirty-eight killed and wounded. General Reno then embarked his force.

The administration of affairs in North Carolina was burdensome to General Burnside, who, however, acted with vigor when there was occasion for action. A Mr. White, a pilot who had served the Union ships, on making a visit to his wife at Edenton was seized under threat of being hanged as a spy. In return, General Burnside seized the commissioners of the town of Edenton, and held them as hostages for the safety of White.

The government at Washington appointed the Hon. Edward Stanly military governor of North Carolina, of which State he was a native. He was invested with the powers, duties, and functions of that station, including the power to establish all necessary offices and tribunals, and suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* during the pleasure of the President, or until the loyal inhabitants shall organize a State government in accordance with the Constitution of the United States. His powers are exactly similar to those with which Governor Johnson of Tennessee was invested.

The administration of affairs was on a line of policy calculated to develop the loyalty, if any existed, among the people to the old Union. For this purpose it was of the highest importance that the local laws and institutions should be respected as much as the circumstances would admit.

As a consequence of the capture of Beaufort, that port was opened to trade June 1st, and several cargoes of goods arrived adapted to the wants of the people, but there were no means of payment except Confederate paper money. Meantime large reinforcements had reached General Burnside, and his division was raised to a *corps d'armée* of which the first division was under General Foster, the second, under General Reno, and the third under General Pope. There were no efforts made to extend the conquest inland; and when made requisite in consequence of affairs in the Peninsula, General Burnside, with the large portion of his troops, was withdrawn. They took their departure through the Dismal Swamp Canal, *via* Norfolk for Fortress Monroe, where they remained until the evacuation of the Peninsula being determined on, they joined McDowell at Fredericksburg. General Foster remained in command of the troops left to protect the military governor, Stanley. The North Carolina expedition had been productive of no important results. Certain towns on the immediate coast had been occupied, but the citizens were generally hostile. Where Union sentiments were professed, it was evidently only to escape the inconvenience of apparent hostility.

The occupation of Hilton Head, South Carolina, by General Sherman was followed by a proclamation,* in which he exhorted the people to return to their constitutional allegiance, and declaring that while he came to enforce obedience to the Federal laws, he should respect constitutional obligations and local rights. The operations of his command were necessarily confined to the occupation and fortification of Hilton Head, Edisto, Daufuskie, and Tybee Islands. Under these circumstances, great effort had been made to support the latent Union feeling in that section. Correspondence opened with leading men developed the existence of Union parties in Florida, which would not be slack in showing itself if the military pressure was removed. General Sherman there-

fore combined a strong military and naval demonstration against Savannah, which produced the effect of concentrating there all the disposable forces of that section. It resulted that on the appearance of the fleet before the Floridan cities, thus denuded of troops, they surrendered at once; and in Jacksonville the political results were at once manifest in the open declaration of Union sentiments by numbers of wealthy and influential citizens. Measures were taken for the election of municipal and State officers, and there were hopes entertained of the return of Florida to the Union by the 1st of June. The people were returning to their homes, and Florida soldiers returned from the Secession army strengthened these hopes.

Since the force at the command of General Sherman would not suffice to attack Savannah, an expedition to Florida was arranged under Commodore Dupont, and General Wright to command the land forces. The fleet, some thirty vessels, including transports, left Hilton Head February 27th, and arrived off the bar of Fernandina, Florida, March 4th. The garrison at Fort Clinch abandoned the place on the arrival of the gunboats. The women and children of Fernandina left on board the Darlington steamer, which was pursued and shelled by the Ottawa, Lieut. Stevens, until she ran aground and was captured. The place was quietly occupied, the citizens showing no hostility. The Ottawa then proceeded to Jacksonville, Florida, which immediately surrendered, there being no preparations for defence. A meeting of loyal citizens was held, and passed resolutions against secession and against the action of the convention, and the Union sentiment was becoming well pronounced. The stay of the troops was of very short duration, however, since April 7th, orders came from General Hunter, who had meantime succeeded General Sherman at Hilton Head, to evacuate the place, which was perfected on the 9th, the enemy's cavalry entering as the troops left. On the 13th March the city of Brunswick, Georgia, was occupied by a force sent by Commodore Dupont. The enemy retired and destroyed the railroad bridge; at the same time Commander Rogers, of the Wabash, received the surrender of St. Augustine from the authorities of the place, the military, consisting of two companies of Florida troops, having retired on the previous day. Thus the fleet under Commodore

Dupont, in connection with the force under General Wright, quietly occupied the ports of Brunswick, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Fernandina. The occupation of these places was followed by no military results, nor had public expectation in relation to the landing at Hilton Head been realized. The point is between the cities of Charleston and Savannah, which are connected by the railroad, and there are many facilities for approaching either place. There had, however, not been sufficient strength to attempt either place. Some four months had elapsed, during which the barrenness of the enterprise had been ascribed to the proclamation of General Sherman of November 8th; but which, nevertheless, in connection with his occupation of leading points on the coast, was working out results. There had been a pressure upon the Government to place the district in the hands of a government agent, who should take charge of the abandoned estates of the planters, and direct the labor of the blacks in the cultivation of cotton and in the supply of food for the army. The result was the appointment of Mr. C. L. Pierce, government agent; associated with him were a number of females, whose intent was to establish schools for the blacks, under Mr. French. The persons so associated, to the number of sixty, of whom fifteen were females, including the wife of Senator Harlan, of Iowa, sailed from New York March 3d. The majority of those persons went under the auspices of the "National Freedmen's Relief Association." The landing of this association of persons at Hilton Head produced there great excitement. It had been part of the plan of this movement that General Sherman should have a successor who would harmonize more with their views than did that officer. Hence the arrival of the missionaries was followed by that of General Hunter, who replaced General Sherman and assumed command of the department of the South, embracing South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. March 31st, in a general order, he divided the department into three districts, of which the first was placed under the command of General Benham, the second under General Brannan, the third under General Arnold.

Almost the first act of General Hunter was the recall of the troops from Jacksonville, and the evacuation of the place. This movement was attended with disaster to those

citizens who, on the strength of government support, had boldly declared for the Union. It was no longer possible for them to remain after the troops had left, and they were compelled to abandon homes and property. This fact was a severe lesson to all who should side with the Union, since they incurred the risk of being abandoned to the enemy at the first change of a commander or caprice of a general.

The forces under General Sherman had occupied Tybee Island, which is at the mouth of the Savannah river, commanding the point of Cockspur Island, on which is situated Fort Pulaski, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy early in the war, and which had been built under the superintendence of General Benham, now besieging it. The movements of General Sherman had cut off communication between the fort and Savannah so effectually as to prevent supplies from reaching the place. On the 13th of March two of the enemy's fleet attempted to run down past the Union batteries established by General Sherman at Jones Island, Bird's Island and Long Island, but the attempt was unsuccessful. The batteries upon Tybee Island commanded the fort, and its investment was actively proceeding when General Hunter assumed command, and on the morning of the 10th April, the batteries under General Gilmore being ready, General Hunter sent a flag to demand the surrender of the place. Colonel Olmstead, in reply, stated he "was there to defend the place, not to surrender it." There were established eleven batteries, containing thirty ten and thirteen-inch mortars, Parrott and James guns, at distances varying from 1,685 to 3,400 yards from the fort. On the return of the flag the fire was opened from a thirteen-inch mortar, and the fort responded from a thirteen-inch gun. The fire became general, and two ten-inch columbiads were dismounted. The firing was very fierce, it was Sumter over again, the parties being now reversed, the enemy holding the fort in a circle of fire. After three hours' firing, the enemy's flag staff was shot away, but a new one was rigged and the fire went on all day with great vigor, but without the loss of a man on the Union side. The fall of night brought a suspension of operations, which were resumed with the early dawn. The dismounted guns had been restored during the night, but soon the enemy's wall began to crum-

ble before the ten-inch solid shot. The breach being very large, several rifle balls passed through it over the *terrapleine*, and began to batter the magazine on the north-west corner in a manner that carried terror to the hearts of the enemy. From their experience they knew that it was possible for a rifle shell to pass entirely through the walls of the magazine and blow it up, and with it the fort and all its occupants. This induced a surrender, and at half-past 2 o'clock the fort hung out a white flag, and the place was surrendered unconditionally on the anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter. There were thus captured three hundred and sixty prisoners, forty-seven guns, with a large amount of powder and three months' supply of provisions. The fort was badly cut up, and afforded another proof to that of Sumter, that mason work is of not much use before the terrific force of ten-inch solid shot and rifled guns.

There were, after the fall of Pulaski, several weeks of apparent military inaction, although preparations were on foot to attack Charleston. The enemy, on their side, were equally active. The women and children mostly left the seaboard, and the population of Charleston was reduced to its fighting population; and the city was belted round on every side with powerful fortifications, covering its land approaches. The harbor entrance was guarded on either side by the tremendous batteries of Forts Sumter and Moultrie, about a mile apart. As for the city, the Governor and Supreme Executive Council of South Carolina, on behalf of the State, notified the Confederate commanders that they would prefer to see Charleston razed to the ground and its assailants beaten off, than to see it surrendered or evacuated on any terms whatever. General Lee had been succeeded by General Pemberton in the command of the coast of Georgia and South Carolina. The immediate command of Charleston was committed to General Hugh W. Mercer. This officer was educated at West Point, but left the United States army in 1835, his rank at that time being first lieutenant of artillery. Since then he has been connected with one of the banks in Savannah. The city was placed under martial law. An attempt by Colonel Christ to sever the railroad connection between Charleston and Savannah failed; and the enemy were enabled to concentrate large forces

at Charleston to meet the expected attack which the progress of the national troops on Coles Island, and Stono foreshadowed; and they were in strong force on James Island. The forces under the command of Brigadier-General Wright crossed from Edisto Island to Seabrook's Point on the 29th, 30th and 31st of May. The sixth Connecticut was the first regiment landed, and were thrown out as an advance. They had a skirmish with the rebel pickets on Sunday morning, June 1st, and, at the second attempt, drove the enemy across the river and obtained possession of the bridge.

On the 1st and 2d, Generals Hunter, Benham and Stevens proceeded to Stono Inlet, with all the available force at their command, accompanied by eight gunboats. The troops were landed on James Island without opposition.

Frequent reconnoissances were made on Johns Island and James Island, resulting in trifling loss on both sides. On the 10th of June the Union forces occupied Kimball's plantation, James Island; and, on the 11th, the pickets of General Wright's brigade were vigorously attacked by the forty-seventh Georgia. A sharp skirmish ensued, without material results. The force under General Benham * con-

* Brigadier-General Henry W. Benham is a native of Connecticut. In his early days, General Benham had been an apprentice in the printing-office of a Connecticut newspaper. He procured an appointment to West Point, where, on the 1st of July, 1837, he graduated as brevet second lieutenant of the corps of engineers. He stood No. 1 in his class, and graduated at the same time as Braxton Bragg, General Lewis G. Arnold, Major Israel Vodges, General Thomas Williams, Generals French, Sedgwick and Hooker (of the Potomac army,) General Todd (of the Missouri army), and many other prominent men. He was promoted to a first lieutenancy on the 7th of July, 1838, and served in that capacity in Mexico. He was wounded at the battle of Buena Vista on the 23d of February, 1848, and was breveted captain for his gallant and meritorious conduct during that engagement. On the 24th May, 1848, he was promoted to a full captaincy in his corps, and was considered by General Scott as one of his most reliable engineers. In March, 1853, he was appointed an assistant in the expedition engaged in the United States Coast Survey, and on the 3d March, 1855, was tendered the majority of the ninth United States infantry, but declined the position. In the "Army Register" for 1861 his name stood second on the list of captains. On the 6th August, 1861, he was promoted to be a major of the corps of engineers, and on the 13th of the same month was further promoted to be a brigadier-general of volunteers, at the same time retaining his position in the engineer corps. During General McClellan's campaign in Western Virginia, Captain Benham was the engineer of the department. When General Rosecrans was appointed to the command of the army of occupation in Western Virginia, Captain Benham, having been promoted to a brigadier-generalship, was assigned to the command of the third brigade of

sisted of Wright's division of two brigades, Chatfield's and Williams'; Stevens' division of two brigades, Fenton's and Learned's; altogether some sixteen regiments. These troops occupied the southern portion of James Island, on Stono Creek. This creek proceeds in a westerly direction, separating Johns Island from James Island. The latter is separated from the mainland by Wappoo Creek, which runs from Ashley river, at a point opposite Charleston, to Stono Creek. Hence, if there were no obstructions, the gunboats that ascended Stono Creek could pass through Wappoo Creek to Charleston. The Pawnee and the Ellen were in Stono Creek, covering the troops encamped on James Island; and Wappoo Creek had been rendered impassable by obstructions. The enemy held Fort Johnston, on the extreme northern point of James Island, opposite Fort Sumter. He had also a force of 12,000 troops within four miles. General Hunter visited the island, and delayed the attack upon Fort Johnston until he should receive reinforcements, and returned to Hilton Head. The enemy, however, established in front of Secessionville, and about a mile and a half in advance of our works, a battery, from which one very heavy gun threw its shells into our camps, and even over General Wright's camp into the Stono river, where the gunboats lay. This camp, therefore, as well as that of General Stevens, were both liable to be swept by the enemy's fire at any time; and the gunboats were powerless to prevent it, as they had no guns of sufficient calibre to reach the battery. General Benham, therefore, deemed it indispensable to the security of our position, to capture that battery. A reconnoissance in force was therefore ordered on the 10th, General Hunter consenting, and delaying his departure a day to ascertain the effect of it, for the force was to be large enough to take the work by storm, if practicable. This was frustrated by the attack of the enemy upon Wright's command on that day. The reconnoissance, therefore, was ordered for the 16th, with the design of taking the work by a dash be-

his *corps d'armée*, and to the Cheat river district. During General Rosecrans' march upon Floyd's position at Gauley, General Benham had command of one of the brigades, and was ordered to cut off Floyd's retreat, who, by some means, escaped him. General Benham was censured, recalled to Washington and deprived of his command. He, however, demanded a court martial, but the exigencies of the service prevented its being held. He was instructed to report without delay to Major-General Hunter.

fore daylight, General Hunter having meanwhile left the island.

Secessionville is a small village on the eastern side of the island, on a high plot of land, lying on a bold creek, which winds through the marshes between James and Morris Islands, and empties into the Stono river near its mouth. On the west of the village, a short shallow creek makes its way toward the waters of the Charleston Bay. Thus a tongue of land is formed between the two creeks. It is connected with the body of the island by a narrow neck of thirty yards and some four or five hundred yards south of Secessionville. Here Lamar's battery was located across the highland, and flanked on each side by marsh and the creeks. It was a simple earthwork, heavily constructed, having a plain face, with an obtuse angle on each side. It faces south, in the direction of the Stono river, which is about two miles off. From this point the cleared high land stretches out to the Stono river. The front of the work was covered with thick abatis, and rifle-pits. On the 15th June a Charleston regiment was a half mile in advance of the work, and the remainder of the battalions were supporting the battery under Colonel Lamar. At the same time, the night of the 15th, General Stevens, who led the column of attack, advanced by a road on the right, while General Wright, on the left, reached its position at 4 A. M., where it waited for one hour and a half for the sound of the guns, which were to be the signal of its further advance. This delay brought the attack into full daylight, and exposed our men to the severe fire which it had been General Benham's object to avoid. Immediately upon the firing being heard, Wright's column moved forward and took up a position which completely protected both the flank and the rear of the attacking column from assault by the main body of the rebels, who, to the number of twelve thousand, lay a few miles above, to our left.

The attack of Stevens was made with two brigades, numbering about 4,000 men, and surprised the enemy, reaching within 400 yards of the work before they were alarmed. They delivered their fire of grape when the command was close upon the guns, making fearful havoc. The two advanced regiments succeeded under the staggering fire to the abatis, where, exposed to a murderous

rifle practice, they waited for the remaining regiments, until compelled to retire with heavy loss. Meantime three regiments under Williams, of Wright's brigade, which was to have supported the left of Stevens, lost their way and came out on the right flank of the enemy's work, from which they were separated by a deep stream and an impassable marsh. There were two battalions of the enemy's rifles facing them across the marsh. They however enfilded the fort and inflicted severe loss upon the enemy, until he was reinforced by the Louisiana battalion arriving on the field with a field-piece, and forming on the right of the enemy. This movement somewhat outflanked the troops, and they began to retire, when the enemy were again reinforced by the Eutaw regiment, which had marched two miles. The attack having failed, the order to retire to the former camping ground was given. The engagement lasted four hours, and the Union loss, killed, wounded and missing, was 668. The enemy reported his loss at 40 killed and 150 wounded, among whom was Colonel Lamar.

When the news of this disaster reached General Hunter, he immediately ordered General Benham to report himself under arrest, for alleged disobedience of orders, claiming that he ordered him not to attack Fort Johnston. The attack of Benham had, however, been only on an advanced work, the reduction of which was necessary to the holding of James Island, a fact proved by the withdrawal of the troops by Hunter, after Benham had been sent north under arrest, and notwithstanding that Hunter had received reinforcements of the ninetieth New York and a Pennsylvania regiment from Key West. The attack had been decided on in council with Stevens, Wright and Williams, and held to be indispensable. The attempt of Hunter to cast the blame upon Benham, fell to the ground. The real blame fell upon the commanding general, who allowed military operations to take a secondary place in his estimation. On the 27th, General Hunter ordered the evacuation of James Island, and transports were sent from Hilton Head to bring off the troops.

After the withdrawal of the troops from James Island, military affairs in the department relapsed into inaction, except in so far as the enterprise of the enemy caused occasional movements. The jurisdiction of the department

gradually contracted; Edisto, Stono, Otter Islands, and St. Helena Sound were given up; the command of the Savannah river, with the forts on its banks, relinquished; the troops held only Hilton Head, Beaufort, Pulaski, and their immediate dependencies. The monotony was suddenly broken on the 14th August by an expedition of the enemy. One company of the third New Hampshire occupied Pinckney Island, within eight miles of head-quarters. The island formed the boundary of the lines, in the direction of Savannah—when, on the 14th, about 150 of the enemy crossed the narrow creek which separates the island from the mainland, landed at two points, surprised the men in their tents, captured thirty-two, killed three, wounded three, and retired without loss. After this insult, three companies of the third New Hampshire were sent to the spot, supported by the seventh Connecticut, but no aggressive movement was undertaken. The command of General Hunter was now brought to a close, that officer being relieved by General O. W. Mitchel, transferred from Kentucky General Sherman commanded the department five months, and General Hunter held it for the same length of time. General Sherman, during his command, occupied and fortified Hilton Head, Otter Island, Edisto, Daufuskie and Tybee Islands; occupied the towns of Beaufort, Fernandina, St. Augustine and Jacksonville; built, at prodigious labor, the forts on the Savannah river, which effected the investment of Fort Pulaski; established his forces on the main land in several instances, guarded every important harbor and approach from the interior between Charleston and St. Augustine; kept off the enemy so that they dared not show themselves within twenty-five miles of his pickets, and by herculean exertions, landed an immense armament on Tybee Island, and erected under the very walls of Fort Pulaski the batteries which accomplished its reduction. Three or four days before he was ready to open fire on the fort, General Hunter relieved him, and seized the glory of the capture.

General Hunter, during his command, abandoned Jacksonville, where an important Union spirit was developing itself under the management of his predecessor, gave up Edisto, Stono, Otter Island, and St. Helena Sound, relinquished the command of the Savannah river, and the forts on its banks, allowed the enemy to seize our pickets within

eight miles of his head-quarters, instituted an expedition on James Island, which was disgracefully disastrous in its results, issued a proclamation of freedom to the negroes, which the President immediately countermanded, and without the authority of his government, armed and organized a black brigade, which he had been himself, without orders, obliged to disband.

CHAPTER XXX.

Financial Situation.—Trent.—Notes.—Legal Tender.—Interest in Coin.—Duties in Specie.—Gold Notes at a Premium.—Deposits.—Ways and Means.—Debt.—Excise Loan.—Income Tax.—Paper Circulation.—1863 Finances.—5.20 New Provisions.—Effect of Paper Money.—Raise in price.—Premium on Gold.—Commerce.—Government expenses.—Business good.—Growth of debt.—Immense means.

THE expenses of the war continued to press heavily upon the resources of the government. The more so that the fact of war interrupted the usual course of production and trade, thereby reducing the ordinary revenues of the Treasury to a low figure. When the year 1862 opened, the prospect was sufficiently gloomy, since the affair of the Trent had not only closed all chance of foreign pecuniary aid, in the shape of loans, but had induced the withdrawal of large amounts of foreign capital from the country. The government stocks were at a discount; the banks had suspended specie payments; \$50,000,000 of paper money had been paid out by the government, on its face redeemable in coin and receivable for customs; the expenditure reached nearly \$2,000,000 per day; and there were heavy arrears to be met to contractors and soldiers. The moment had come when the government must choose between heavy direct taxation and paper money as a means of meeting current expenses. Unfortunately all provision for the war had been neglected until arrears accumulated, and there was now no time in which to collect taxes. This fact was accepted as a sufficient reason for authorizing paper money. And the secretary was, by the act of February 25, 1862, permitted to issue, in notes of five dollars and upwards, \$150,000,000, including the \$50,000,000 already out. While these notes were made a legal tender for all debts, public and private, except customs, the fact was overlooked that the \$50,000,000 out were not a legal tender, but were, by the terms of the

law, receivable for customs. Inasmuch as that contract could not be repudiated, a supplemental law was passed, March 16, correcting that oversight. A twin measure of this issue of paper money was a provision that the interest on the national debt should be paid in coin.

This was deemed necessary to reassure the national creditors who recognized in the paper medium a *quasi* repudiation of their claims, since, if they continued to receive a fixed amount of paper annually for interest, and that paper following the experience of all previous issues, should depreciate and ultimately become valueless, they would lose their revenues. While, therefore, all other annuitants and creditors were exposed to this danger, it was hoped to guard the holders of government stocks by continuing payments to them in coin. This it was also hoped would operate to induce holders of other property to transfer it into government stocks for the benefit of this coin payment. But if the government was to pay coin, it must have some means of procuring coin. To buy it in the open market in exchange for paper, would cause the latter rapidly to depreciate. It was therefore resolved that all duties should be paid in coin. This plan also recommended itself to the manufacturing and protective interests, because it was in effect raising the cost of imported goods to the extent of the depreciation of the paper. The duties for the year were estimated at \$50,000,000; and this amount, derived in specie, would, it was supposed, meet the interest on the government debt, and also furnish sufficient to pay diplomatic salaries and other claims on the government abroad. The obstacle to the plan was the fact that the \$50,000,000 of notes must first be absorbed by the customs. This fact imparted to those notes a special value. On the passage of the bill, therefore, they were immediately taken for investment, since they would command in depreciated paper very nearly as much premium as coin. There was apparently a large amount of capital withdrawn from trade, that was accumulating in private hands. The owners did not seem disposed to invest it in the government stocks, under the assurance, constantly reiterated in high quarters, that the war would have a speedy termination. They desired temporary employment for it, in the view that speedy peace would restore the usual occupation of capital. The Secretary of the Treasury was therefore

authorized to receive money on deposit to the extent of \$25,000,000, returnable at ten days' notice, and to pay five per cent. per annum interest in gold. This measure was successful, and the limit was soon filled. Congress subsequently raised the limit at various times until they fixed it at \$100,000,000, when its interest was made payable in paper instead of gold. In addition to these measures, the secretary was authorized to issue certificates of indebtedness to the national creditors, bearing six per cent. interest in gold, and payable in one year; subsequently the interest was made payable in paper instead of gold. There was no limit fixed to this issue. They were paid out at par to the public creditors, and by them sold in the market at a greater or less discount according to the amount offering for sale.

All these provisions being made, some time was required to prepare the various kinds of paper. Meantime the deposits were the most ready means of meeting the wants of the treasury. The banks and the public held large amounts of government paper, but it was in the old or first issues of paper money, which was of the value of specie, which the new issues would not be. They would not therefore deposit their notes with the treasury without a stipulation that the same kind of notes should be received back. This demand was complied with, and the deposit became large, since the banks could not get five per cent. in gold for money otherwise idle. The fact that the treasury took all unemployed money at five per cent., caused the rate to become the *minimum* rate of interest in the market, since the government would be the first choice of lenders. With all these provisions, the ways and means of the department now embraced \$25,000,000 of $7\frac{3}{10}$ three years bonds not yet issued, \$100,000,000 of legal tenders credited by the law of February 25, \$10,000,000 granted by the tariff law of March, \$100,000,000 of certificates of deposit, and an unlimited amount of six per cent. one year certificates to issue. These different credits began to make their appearance as fast as they could be prepared, and with this emission they began to depreciate as compared with gold. The premium on gold, which had been 5 per cent. Jan. 1st, had declined to $1\frac{1}{2}$. It now began to rise, however, and, at the close of the fiscal year, June 30, 1862, was at 10 per cent. cprem.

The debt on the 1st of July, 1862, was \$514,211,371,* not including the arrears, which were estimated at some \$100,000,000. The funded debt had thus increased during the year, \$423,343,543, or \$1,163,000 per day, not including the very large sums not audited. The whole net revenue and expenditure for the fiscal year 1862, which was the first entire year of war, were, for customs, \$49,056,397; bonds, \$152,203; miscellaneous, \$931,787; direct tax, \$1,795,332, which sums, added to the increased loans, make \$475,279,263, or \$1,302,000 per day, of which amount nine-tenths was borrowed. This debt bore an interest of \$22,000,000 per annum, payable in gold, which was now, July 1st, at a premium of 10 per cent. for government paper. It was obvious that the regular revenue must be increased by taxation, however detrimental that might prove to the political interests of the party in power. The direct tax law of the previous session had been repealed, and the confiscation acts, under which it was alleged the war expenses could be paid from Southern property, were found to be delusive. It was therefore determined to pass an excise law, which was to levy taxes upon all departments of industry, and also a tax upon all incomes over \$600. The chief features of the excise law, were stamp duties upon all transactions and legal demands, and a three per cent. tax upon manufactures. There were also some changes made in the customs duties, with a view to more revenue. The excise law would necessarily be a long time in getting into operation, and the income tax was not made payable until June, 1863. It was necessary, therefore, that further loans should be resorted to; and July 11th, a further issue of \$150,000,000, paper money was authorized, of which \$35,000,000 were to be notes of a denomination less than \$5. Of the whole amount, \$50,000,000 were to be reserved as a fund to meet the deposits, in case they should be called for.

The estimates of the secretary for the fiscal year 1863,

* The Federal debt was composed as follows:

	July, 1861.	December, 1861.	July, 1862.
Stocks, 5 per cent.	\$30,595,092	\$30,595,092	\$20,595,092
Stocks, 6 per cent.	41,635,553	189,929,856	104,595,505
Stocks, 7 3-10ths per cent.		100,000,000	122,836,550
Treasury Notes, 6 per cent.	15,357,173	22,464,763	2,830,641
1 Year Certificates, 6 per cent.			49,881,950
Deposits, 4 per cent.			14,015,894
Deposits, 5 per cent.			43,730,212
Paper Money		24,550,325	149,600,000
	<u>\$90,567,828</u>	<u>\$267,540,093</u>	<u>\$514,211,371</u>

embraced an expenditure of \$693,346,321, and the revenue was estimated at \$180,495,345, from all sources, customs, taxes, &c. There remained, then, \$512,850,976 to be provided for, and in addition, \$95,212,456 of public debt was to be met, making \$608,063,432. Soon after, however, military disasters caused the calling out of 600,000 more men, and raised the appropriation for 1863 to \$882,238,800. To meet these expenses, Congress authorized the issue of \$500,000,000, six per cent. stock, redeemable in five to twenty years, and also a further issue of notes for \$100,000,000, exchangeable at par for the stock authorized. Subsequently, the secretary was authorized to issue fractional notes, or for parts of a dollar, to an unlimited amount. Thus there were authorized \$750,000,000, and in addition, as much fractional paper as the secretary might deem proper.

With these resources the secretary continued to meet the wants of the government, under a manifestly growing discredit, since the price of gold rose rapidly in the market, and the 5-20 bonds, or those which were payable after five years, and within twenty years, were limited to sales at not less than the market value, and the holder of government notes had the right to convert them at any time at par into those 5-20 bonds. When Congress again assembled, the Treasury was again much straightened in its means. Nearly the same situation presented itself as in the previous year. The debt now amounted to \$814,000,000. There were large arrears pressing for payment, without the apparent means of meeting them. Early in January Congress again authorized the issue of \$100,000,000, paper money, to meet immediate wants. The secretary then desired Congress to amend the law authorizing the sale of the \$500,000,000 5-20 bonds, so as to restrict the right of converting green backs into them at par, to the 1st of July, 1863, and to remove the restriction upon selling them at market value. A new law was also passed, authorizing the issue of \$500,000,000 of six per cent. stock, redeemable after ten and within forty years; also, \$400,000,000 of notes, of denominations as low as \$10, to be legal tenders, or convertible into legal tenders, bearing six per cent. interest in paper, and redeemable in three years. There were authorized \$150,000,000 more legal tenders, into which to convert those small interest-

bearing notes. The fractional paper currency was now limited to \$50,000,000. In addition to these provisions, a new National Banking law was enacted, by which banks were to be authorized in all the States to circulate notes, redeemable in government paper, and secured on government stocks. The aggregate circulation was not to exceed \$300,000,000. It was also provided that the one year certificates were to have their interest paid in paper, and also all future certificates of deposit.

Between the passage of this act and the close of the fiscal year, \$50,000,000 of one year certificates fell due, and were paid off. The proceeds were deposited with the government at ten days' notice at five per cent. interest in paper, and new claims on the government were met by the issue of new certificates, on which, however, gold was no longer paid for interest. By discontinuing the payment of interest on deposits and certificates in coin, and authorizing the issue of coin certificates, for interest due on the other debt of the government, the department was gradually accustoming the public to the disuse of coin for interest, thus taking another downward step in the use of paper. The continued issue of the paper money had promoted a great rise in prices, and much speculative action in goods and specie. Gold rose to a premium of seventy-two in February. The rise in gold had a two-fold effect; it caused a great diminution in the consumption of goods, on account of their dearness, and it produced a conversion of old stocks of goods into paper money, which sought temporary means of investment, rather than the repurchase or production of goods at the higher cost. The money seeking investment filled the bank vaults, and was employed in the government five per cent. deposits, filling up the limit to \$100,000,000. The department then organized a system of agencies, or commissions, which effected considerable conversions of the paper money into the five-twenties, before the expiration of the limit for conversion fixed by law to July 1st. That limit was, however, not observed by the secretary, who extended the time for conversion indefinitely, under the power granted by Congress, to sell stocks at his own discretion. A number of banks were also organized under the new banking law, and prepared to issue notes secured upon the five-twenties. The deposits on five per cent. certificates, and the conver-

sion during April, May and June, nearly met the expenses of the Treasury during that period. The effect of this change of plan was to cause a contraction of the currency, and gold fell from seventy-two to thirty-two, causing a corresponding decline in general prices, and great losses to the holders of goods. At the close of the fiscal year 1863, the debt stood as follows:

Stocks, 5 per cent., due 1865 to 1874	\$30,483,000
" 6 " " " 1868 to 1881	87,871,391
" 6 " " " 5.20	185,684,141
Bonds, 7.30 " " 1864	139,920,500
Treasury Notes to 1863	717,100
Deposits 4 per cent., 10 days	28,059,295
" 5 " " " 10 "	70,815,639
Certificates, 6 per cent., 1 year	157,093,241
Legal Tender	387,646,589
" " Fractions	20,192,459
Total debt, July 1863	\$1,097,274,355

The appropriations for two years, were as follows:

July 1, 1861, to July 1, 1862	\$313,261,629
" 1862, " " " 1863	882,238,800
Total	\$1,195,500,429

The amount actually borrowed up to July, 1863, was about equal to the actual appropriation of the two years. The amount of debt contracted from July, 1861, to July 1, 1863, or 730 days, was at the rate of \$1,891,000 per day, without taking into consideration an addition of \$108,731,745 added to the army appropriations of 1861 for the year 1862, or the outstanding unliquidated claims, and which would carry the amount to over \$2,000,000 per day, independent of the customs and taxes. The large expenditures of the government, as a matter of course, afforded a great substitute for the legitimate demands of commerce which the war had annihilated, and many sections of the country, particularly New England, enjoyed an uninterrupted prosperity, with greater profits and wages, than in times of peace.

The annual export trade of the country in time of peace, was equal to a sale of \$373,189,274 of domestic produce abroad. Of this amount nearly \$200,000,000 was cotton. On the outbreak of the war, the export trade fell to \$221,920,000; but this included an unusual sale of bread-

stuffs to England. That country imported in 1862, the unprecedented quantity of 97,000,000 bushels of wheat. Of this more than half was sold by the United States, because the stoppage of the sale of food to the south threw upon the eastern States an unusual surplus, at such prices as enabled the United States to undersell the corn countries of Europe. In this state of affairs the Federal government came forward as the employer of one million men, and the purchaser of goods to the amount of \$750,000,000 per annum. It did not extract the money for the expenditure from the people with one hand, while disbursing with the other, but, using its credit, it emitted paper that was received as money. Thus the export trade of the country and the southern markets were supplanted by the war custom of the government. It may be expressed thus :

	1860.		1863.
Export Trade.....	\$373,189,274	Export.....	\$212,000,000
Southern "	500,000,000	War exports,....	750,000,000
Total amount sales.	\$873,189, 274		\$962,000,000

It would appear from this that the war was a gain to business, and there was a semblance of prosperity which was not to the nation real. The payments of the government were promises yet to be made good from the earnings of future industry to be taxed. It had taken the labor and merchandise of the people, and given them promises which were to be made good only by taxing the people that held them. The export trade of course was paid for in substantial equivalents, but the government expenses were an actual consumption of the national capital. It was probably the case that this government consumption of capital was to some extent compensated by greater economy practised by the people, as a consequence of the high prices which goods commanded in the paper money of the day. For this reason exhaustion was far less rapid than would otherwise have been the case. The close of the second year of war then presented the following result :

	Appropriation.		Debt at close.
Fiscal year 1861.....	\$81,578,834	July 1, 1861,	\$60,189,406
" " 1862.....	313,261,629	" 1862,	514,211,372
" " 1863.....	882,238,800	" 1863,	1,097,274,366
" " 1864.....	973,055,670	Estimate " 1864,	1,744,685,586

The debt of July, 1863, did not include the sixty days' pay of the army and navy then due, and many other large

sums, which carried the amount to \$1,300,000,000. The debt of 1864 is the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury. The aggregate interest on the funded public debt amounted to \$42,800,000 per annum, mostly in gold. The paper money did not bear interest; but inasmuch as that its effect was to enhance the prices of all commodities bought by the government, an average of thirty-five per cent., and which was payable upon all contracts, the interest actually paid was nearly thirty per cent. average on the expenditure other than salaries, and may be estimated at \$180,000,000 per annum. This would give an annual interest of \$222,000,000 paid by the government, or twenty per cent. on its whole debt. The interest bearing debt was as follows:

		Interest.
Funded 4 per cent.....	\$ 28,059,295.49	\$ 1,122,371.81
“ 5 “ “	101,297,638.91	5,064,881.94
“ 6 “ “	431,275,874.71	25,876,552.48
“ 7.30 “	138,920,500.00	10,214,196.50
Total,	\$700,553,319.11	\$42,278,002.73
“ Unfunded,	396,721,056.88	180,000,000.00

The average rate of interest on the funded debt is 6.038 per cent. The unfunded costs a great deal more; but if funded on as favorable terms as the first loans, would bear \$32,803,263, making together \$75,081,265 of annual interest on the actual debt to July 1, 1863.

The annual charge of the British debt is \$127,965,701, or \$4.36 to each person. The United States debt is three-fifths of the British debt in annual charge, and \$3.79 per head. The French debt is \$110,000,000 per annum, or \$3.05 per head.

The actual increase of the debt for the year 1862 was \$1,450,000 each working day; for the year 1863, it was \$1,862,800 each working day; for the last six months of 1862, it was \$2,418,000 per day. Thus affording the most extraordinary instance in the history of the world of the lavish expenditure of means for national objects. No country ever before manifested such resources, and no people ever before offered them up so freely to the service of the government. It may here be remarked, that in the two years in which these marvels occurred, the northern States sent 100,000,000 bushels of grain to supply the wants of the people of England and Europe for food.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Thirty-Seventh Congress.—Foreign Relations.—Public Anxiety.—Surrender of Commissioners.—War Conduct.—Executive Action.—President's Message.—Co-operation.—Hunter's Order.—Border State Delegation.—Kentucky Legislature.—President's Letter.—His Position.—Western Delegation.—Emancipation Action of Congress.—No more Slave Territory.—District of Columbia.—Co-operation Resolution.—Military not to Surrender Fugitives.—Troops Authorized.—Conscription.—Work of the Thirty-Seventh Congress.

ON the 2d December, 1861, the second session or first regular session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress convened at Washington under the most extraordinary circumstances. The war had continued with varying fortunes, and grave complications seemed to be surrounding our foreign relations. The capture of the English mail steamer *Trent*, by Captain Wilkes, of the American navy, having on board the Confederate commissioners, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, on their way to Europe, had caused profound excitement at home and abroad. England complained of it as a violation of the rights of neutrals. Her attitude was so hostile as to render war imminent, and the action of the Federal government was looked for with the most profound anxiety. The House, on its assembling, immediately adopted a joint resolution of Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, voting the thanks of Congress to Captain Wilkes for the arrest of Messrs. Mason and Slidell. This resolution was rejected in the Senate. Two resolutions were then passed; one to request that Mr. Mason be held as a hostage for the treatment of a Union prisoner in the hands of the Confederates; and the other, that Mr. Slidell be also so held to answer for the treatment of another. The passage of these resolutions was, however, immediately followed by the action of the government in surrendering Messrs. Mason and Slidell to the English, and the war cloud passed over. The most important phase which Congressional action now assumed, was in

adopting principles which were to govern its whole action upon the subject of the war. It was affirmed that the government was carrying on a war for its existence, and that the right of self-defence overrides all other considerations. Hence that it had a right to use all means at its disposal to crush the enemy, and to sustain its own life. It was therefore asserted that when the limitation of the Constitution came in the way of such measures as the Executive judged proper, they were supposed not to be applicable, and the government could exercise unlimited authority under the "war-power" of the Constitution. This plea of necessity was fully developed by Senator Fessenden, of Maine, in relation to the issue of legal tender notes. Senator Collamer, of Vermont, resisted the plea on the ground that his solemn oath to support the Constitution was superior to any necessity. That the Confederates were overthrowing the Constitution on the plea of the necessity of self-preservation, and no necessity could justify the upholders of the Constitution in violating it. It was also affirmed that slavery was the cause of the war, that the whole power of the government should be directed against the cause, and that emancipation was a preliminary to peace; that to emancipate slaves and destroy slavery should be the object of the war, because it was assumed that peace could never exist on other terms.

These leading principles became the guide to the whole action of Congress, and were also the influences under which the separate action of the Executive took place. This action of the Executive was developed in a series of proclamations, upon the subject of emancipation. The first of these was in the form of a message to Congress, as follows:

"Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

"I recommend the adoption of a joint resolution by your honorable bodies, which shall be substantially as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt a gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system.

"If the proposition contained in the resolution does not meet the approval of Congress and the country, there is the end; but if it does command such approval, I deem of importance that the States and people immediately interested, should at once be distinctly notified of

the fact, so that they may begin to consider whether to accept or reject it.

"The Federal government would find its highest interest in such a measure, as one of the most efficient means of self-preservation. The leaders of the existing insurrection entertain the hope that the government will ultimately be forced to acknowledge the independence of some part of the disaffected region, and that all the slave States north of such parts will then say, 'The Union for which we have struggled, being already gone, we now choose to go with the Southern section.'

"To deprive them of this hope, substantially ends the rebellion, and the initiation of emancipation completely deprives them of it. As to all the States initiating it, the point is not that all the States tolerating slavery, would very soon, if at all, initiate emancipation; but that, while the offer is equally made to all, the more Northern shall, by such initiation, make it certain to the more Southern, that in no event will the former ever join the latter in their proposed Confederacy.

"I say 'initiation,' because, in my judgment, gradual, and not sudden emancipation is better for all. In the mere financial or pecuniary view, any member of Congress, with the census tables and the Treasury reports before him, can readily see for himself how very soon the current expenditures of this war would purchase, at a fair valuation, all the slaves in any named State. Such a proposition on the part of the general government sets up no claim of a right, by Federal authority, to interfere with slavery within State limits, referring, as it does, the absolute control of the subject in each case to the State, and its people immediately interested.

"It is proposed, as a matter of perfectly free choice with them. In the annual Message, last December, I thought fit to say: 'The Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed.' I said this not hastily, but deliberately. War has been, and continues to be, an indispensable means to this end. A practical reacknowledgment of the national authority would render the war unnecessary, and it would at once cease.

"If, however, resistance continues, the war must also continue, and it is impossible to foresee all the incidents which may attend, and all the ruin which may follow it. Such as may seem indispensable, or may obviously promise great efficiency toward ending the struggle, must and will come.

"The proposition now made, though an offer only, I hope it may be esteemed no offence to ask whether the pecuniary consideration tendered would not be of more value to the States and private persons concerned, than are the institution and property in it, in the present aspect of affairs.

"While it is true that the adoption of the proposed resolution would be merely initiatory, and not within itself a practical measure, it is recommended in the hope that it would soon lead to important results. In full view of my great responsibility to my God, and to my country, I earnestly beg the attention of Congress and the people to the subject.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Some sixty days after, on the 9th May, General Hunter issued a proclamation, declaring all slaves in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina free forever. On the 17th of March, Mr. Lincoln issued a proclamation abrogating the order of General Hunter, and reserving to himself the right to declare slaves free, and calling the attention of the people of those States to the subject of emancipation in the Message of March 6. In pursuance of the same subject, the President, July 12, invited the senators and representatives of the Border States to the executive mansion, and addressed them upon the subject.

He began by informing them that if they had passed the resolution he had sent to Congress March 6, the war would have been ended. He then continued to urge upon them the subject of compensated emancipation, and complained that his repudiation of Hunter's order had given offence to parties whose support he could not afford to lose, and that the pressure from that direction upon him was increasing, and he desired the border delegates to relieve him from the pressure by conceding his request. The delegates replied, that Congress had made no pledge whatever, and that the border States could not be expected to act upon the expression of a sentiment. The majority replied in a lengthy statement, in which they urged the impossibility of acting upon so important a matter hastily. That it was an interference of the government in State concerns. That the government had no power to make such appropriations of money, which would reach at least \$500,000,000. That the right to hold slaves appertains to each State of the Union. Each has the right to maintain or abolish it. That the right is a part of the institutions of the Constitution and the Union, and cannot be taken away without destroying all. They alluded to the inaugural of President Lincoln, in which he affirmed that he had "no lawful right to interfere with slavery in States where it exists." They did not see why sacrifices should be exacted from loyal border States, any more than from the other loyal States. They denied the proposition of the President, that the resolution if passed would have ended the war. They stated that the Confederate strength consisted in the union of classes, which had not been the case when the war commenced. The Union had been brought about by the common resistance of all parties to aggressions upon their

rights. The resistance had been strengthened by the non-adherence to the principles of the inaugural. In reply to the desire of the President to be relieved of pressure, the delegation could not form a clear idea of its meaning. The pressure was to support Hunter in abolishing all slavery, without compensation. Did the President desire them to acquiesce in that? or what was the point at which he aimed.

The proposition was acted upon in the Kentucky legislature, and a committee reported, that the measure would have no influence on the war; that "the dominant party in Congress are bent upon the destruction of the Constitution and the Union. We have viewed with alarm the rapid strides it has made towards the prostration of every guarantee which the Constitution provides for the dearest rights of the people." "They declare that they are against the restoration of the Union, unless slavery is abolished." The report closed with a recommendation that the proposition be declined, which course was followed.

The "pressure" to which the President alluded, continued in full force, and elicited from him the following declaration of his policy in a letter to a newspaper:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, *August 22, 1862.*

"HON. HORACE GREELEY:

"Dear Sir:—I have just read yours of the 19th instant, addressed to myself through the *New York Tribune*.

"If there be in it any statements or assumptions of fact which I may know to be erroneous, I do not now and here controvert them.

"If there be any inferences which I may believe to be falsely drawn, I do not now and here argue against them.

"If there be perceptible in it an impatient and dictatorial tone, I waive it in deference to an old friend whose heart I have always supposed to be right.

"As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution.

"The sooner the national authority can be restored the nearer the Union will be the Union as it was.

"If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them.

"If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them.

"My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it;

and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

"What I do about slavery and the colored race I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing injures the cause; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause.

"I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

"I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free. Yours,

"A. LINCOLN."

The pressure of which the President complained, was kept up in various forms, mostly by many and repeated delegations, and on the 22d of September, a proclamation was issued announcing that the emancipation of slaves was a coming fact. It does not appear, however, that the President had himself any strong convictions upon the subject, since in reply to a delegation that waited upon him to urge it, he compared its efficacy to the "Pope's Bull against the comet." The text of the proclamation was as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"WASHINGTON, *Sept. 22, 1862.*

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, do hereby proclaim and declare that hereafter, as heretofore, the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and the people thereof in which States that relation is, or may be, suspended or disturbed; that it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress, to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all the Slave States, so-called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which States may then have voluntarily adopted or thereafter may voluntarily adopt the immediate or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits; and that the efforts to colonize persons of African descent, with their consent, upon the continent or elsewhere, with the previously obtained consent of the governments existing there, will be continued; that *on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or any designated part of*

a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free, and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom; that the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof have not been in rebellion against the United States.

"That attention is hereby called to an act of Congress entitled 'An act to make an additional Article of War,' approved March 13, 1862, and which act is in the words and figure following:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That hereafter the following shall be promulgated as an additional article of war for the government of the Army of the United States, and shall be obeyed and observed as such:—

"ARTICLE.—All officers or persons in the military or naval service of the United States are prohibited from employing any of the forces under their respective commands for the purpose of returning fugitives from service or labor who may have escaped from any persons to whom such service or labor is claimed to be due, and any officer who shall be found guilty by a court martial of violating this article shall be dismissed from the service.

"SECTION 2.—And be it further enacted, That this act shall take effect from and after its passage."

Also to the ninth and tenth sections of an act entitled "An Act to suppress insurrection, to punish treason and rebellion, to seize and confiscate property of rebels, and for other purposes," approved July 17, 1862, and which sections are in the words and figure following:

"SECTION 9.—And be it further enacted, That all slaves of persons who shall hereafter be engaged in rebellion against the government of the United States, or who shall in any way give aid and comfort thereto, escaping from such persons and taking refuge within the lines of the army, and all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them and coming under the control of the government of the United States, and all slaves of such persons found on (or being within) any place occupied by rebel forces and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States, shall be deemed captures of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

"SECTION 10.—And be it further enacted, That no slave escaping into any State, Territory, or the District of Columbia, from any of the States, shall be delivered up, or in any way impeded or hindered of his liberty, except for crime, or some offence against the laws, unless

the person claiming said fugitive shall first make oath that the person to whom the labor or service of such fugitive is alleged to be due is his lawful owner, and has not been in arms against the United States in the present rebellion, nor in any way given aid and comfort thereto; and no person engaged in the military or naval service of the United States, shall, under any pretence whatever, assume to decide on the validity of the claim of any person to the service or labor of any other person, or surrender up any such person to the claimant, on pain of being dismissed from the service.'

"And I do hereby enjoin upon and order all persons engaged in the military and naval service of the United States to observe, obey and enforce within their respective spheres of service the act and sections above recited.

"And the executive will in due time recommend that all citizens of the United States who shall have remained loyal thereto throughout the rebellion shall (upon the restoration of the constitutional relation between the United States and their respective States and people, if the relation shall have been suspended or disturbed), be compensated for all losses by acts of the United States, including the loss of slaves.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Done at the City of Washington, this twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

"By the President.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

"*Secretary of State.*"

On the same day on which this proclamation was issued, the Secretary of State addressed to the diplomatic agents abroad a circular, calling attention to the proclamation as evidence of a speedy end to the war.

In the annual message the President alluded to the efforts he had made in relation to emancipation, and also in relation to colonizing the emancipated blacks; and proposed articles, amendatory of the Constitution, enabling the compensation of owners for emancipated slaves in the course of thirty-seven years, and appropriations for the colonizing of blacks; and urged that if the plan were adopted, the emancipation of slaves would follow in some of the States. The message proceeded to argue the matter at some length. The plan he stated was proposed as a permanent constitutional law, which cannot be passed without the concurrence of three-fourths of the States. The plan did not however interfere with the proclamation which was issued January 1, in terms as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

A PROCLAMATION.

"*Whereas*, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit :

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons or any of them in any effort they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people therein respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.'

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day of the first above-mentioned order, and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States the following, to wit : Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana—except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans—Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia—except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which accepted parts are, for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

"And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free; and that the executive government of the United States, including

the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

"And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

"And I further declare and make known that such persons, of suitable condition, will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

"And upon this, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President:

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State*."

This action of the executive seemed to be altogether independent of the action of Congress in relation to the general policy of the war. The action of both Houses was directed to the emancipation of blacks, as far as the power of the administration went. The most important of these were, first, the "Wilmot Proviso" act, which offered in the House in 1847, had been one of the disturbing causes of that period, and which had been settled in the compromises of 1850. The resolution was offered by Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, and passed as follows:

"That from and after the passage of this act there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the Territories of the United States now existing, or which may hereafter be formed or acquired by the United States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

The act for the admission of Texas into the Union, stipulated that there should be six more slave States formed out of that territory. The new law is inconsistent with the old. The next act passed was for abolishing of slavery in the District of Columbia, by payment of not exceeding \$300 per head. One million dollars was appropriated for the purpose. The vote in the Senate was 29 to 14, and in the House 92 to 38. The President, after signing it, advised

some amendments, in a supplementary act. On the 10th of March the resolution contained in the message of the President, in relation to co-operative emancipation, was introduced in the House, and adopted, 89 to 31. In the Senate it was fiercely denounced as that interference with slavery in the States, the intention of which had been charged upon the dominant party before the election and since, and which it had so repeatedly denied. The resolution finally passed, 32 to 10.

A bill to "confiscate the property of rebels," provides for the confiscation of the slaves. It declares that hereafter, when any person claims a fugitive, he shall first prove that he has been loyal during the existing rebellion. Another portion prohibits the rendition of slaves by commanders of troops. The 3d section makes provision for the colonization of blacks who may be freed by the act, and authorizes the President to provide for their transportation and settlement in some foreign country. The bill was warmly discussed, and it was shown that it would confiscate property to the extent of \$5,000,000,000, or the whole of the property of the Slave States. The bill finally became a law.

There was also passed an additional Article of War, which prohibits all military officers from returning any fugitive slaves to their masters, under pain of dismissal from the service.

Congress also passed a law, July 17, 1862, authorizing the President to call out the militia of the States for nine months. Under this act 300,000 men were called out, and also 300,000 three years men. The waste of life continued, however, and at the second session of the Congress new means were deemed advisable to fill the ranks of the army. These were finally adopted in the Conscription law brought in by Senator Wilson, chairman of the military committee. Its peculiar feature was that it authorized the President to call into the service of the United States individuals in all the States by lots, and entirely independent of the State governments. The Constitution provides for an "army" for the national government, and for "militia" under each State government. The President and the Senate appoint the officers of the army, and the State governments respectively those of the militia. The Congress is to provide for the calling the militia into

the service of the Federal government, and when it is so called out, the President is commander-in-chief of the militia through the State officers.

The new law provided for the ordering out of the individuals as conscripts, and not the militia in bodies, drilled and disciplined by State officers, as the Constitution directs. It also provided that every man drafted might furnish a substitute or pay not exceeding \$300, in money, for the procurement of one. This law placed all the arms-bearing citizens in all the States within the control of the President. After some months of delay, the necessary machinery for the draft was organized, and the draft put in force.

In looking back upon the proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh Congress, which expired March 4, 1863, the most gigantic results are observable. That Congress had appropriated \$2,177,898,000 for three years' expenses. It had inaugurated legal tender paper money. A national banking scheme of \$300,000,000. It had authorized \$2,300,000,000 of debt in various descriptions of paper. A tax law, embracing an excise upon all articles of productive industry, a stamp tax upon all documents, and a tax of three per cent. upon all incomes over \$600; and the tariff upon imported goods had been raised to the highest rates. It had authorized the following number of troops:

1st call, April, 1861.....	75,000
2d " May, 1861.....	50,000
3d " law of August.....	1,000,000
4th " July, 1862.....	300,000
5th " August, 1862.....	300,000
6th " September, 1862.....	50,000
7th " July, 1863.....	100,000

Total men1,875,000

There were of all these, over 1,000,000 men, under arms at one time, with 50 major-generals and 225 brigadier-generals.

The navy had been reorganized, the grade of rear-admirals had been created, and nine appointed, with 16 commodores, 39 captains, and 90 commanders. There were 282 steam vessels, carrying 1,537 guns. Of these, 53 are iron-clad, and 13 rams; and 102 sailing vessels, carrying 1,450 guns. Total, 384 sea-going vessels, with 2,987 guns.

All this treasure, material, and men, had been voted to the service of the government, in perfect accordance with public opinion. There were no murmurs heard at the extent of the armies, or at the lavish expenditure of money. On the other hand, the only clamors heard, were for a more vigorous prosecution of the war, as if no possible action of Congress could keep up with the fierce impatience of the public to have the war brought to a successful end.

CHAPTER XXXII.

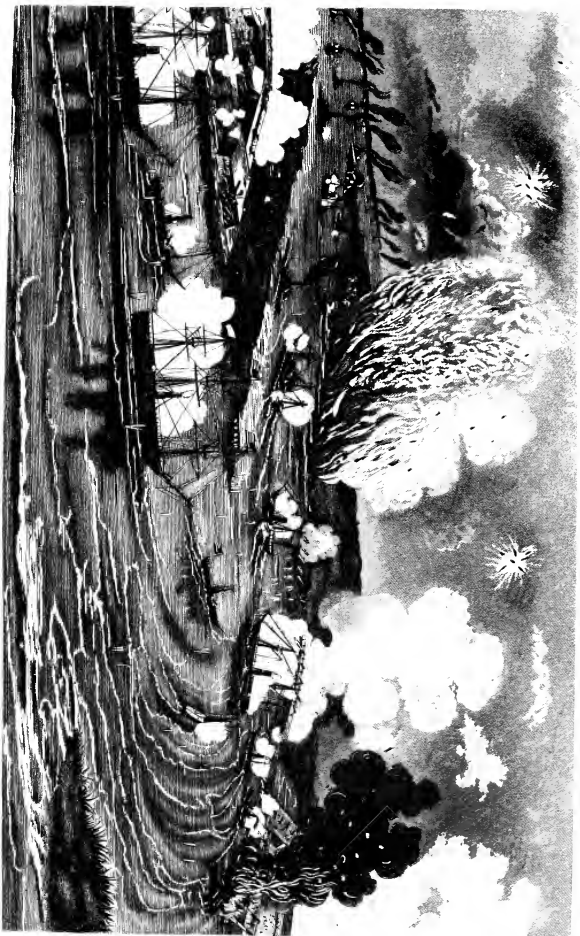
Expedition of General Butler.—Ship Island.—New Orleans.—Its defences.—Farragut.—Fort Jackson.—Capture of City.—Butler in command.—Proclamation.—Mayor arrested.—Consuls.—General Shepley.—Woman order.—John Slidell property.—Maladministration.—Reverdy Johnson.—Frauds. General Phelps.—Baton Rouge.—Vicksburg.—Ran Arkansas.—Her destruction.—Death of Mrs. Lincoln's mother.

THE expedition of General Butler, which had been so long in preparation, finally reached its destination at Ship Island, on the 20th March, but owing to the weather, General Butler did not land until the 23d, assuming the command, much to the satisfaction of the troops, who had been disgusted with the proclamation of General Phelps.* General Butler forbade the sale of liquors to the troops, under severe penalties. This just and necessary regulation, for the health and morals of the troops, was too often neglected, and it is one of the greatest misfortunes of the army and the country that there are no means of enforcing the rule against the officers even of the highest grade. Very much of the brutal conduct of superior officers, and the misfortune and humiliation of the country have been due entirely to the drunkenness of commanding generals. Proclamations have been issued under the influence of rum which have disgraced the American name at home and abroad, and caused the cheek of every patriot to tingle with shame.

The defence of New Orleans had been entrusted to Major-General M. Lovell, a graduate of West Point, and connected with General Quitman and General G. Smith, in the Cuban expeditions. When he took charge of New Orleans in October, 1861, there had been no preparations for defence. The troops of that section had gone north in the Confederate service, and the Mississippi was blockaded. The most active preparations were made for

defence; guns and munitions manufactured; troops organized and drilled; forts placed in a position to resist, and with persevering efforts a system of defence had gradually grown up. The river below was commanded by Fort Jackson and Fort St. Philip, which had been seized by the Confederates. The former situated on the west bank of the river, seventy miles below New Orleans, had cost the United States over \$1,000,000; it was a casemated fort intended to mount 150 guns, and hold 600 men; opposite, on the east bank of the river, St. Philip mounted 150 guns; it is also a very strong fort. These two forts completely command the river, and it was judged impossible to pass them. The Confederates had, however, twice placed obstructions in the river, but these were swept away by the rising flood. There were five or six other forts which commanded the approaches to New Orleans by way of Lake Borgne. There had also been prepared and armed sixteen vessels on the river; of these, eight were defending the upper river, and the remainder, including two iron-clad rams, were destined to support the forts below. Both forts were commanded by General J. K. Duncan, a native of Pennsylvania, and a graduate of West Point. He had been connected with the Lopez expedition to Cuba, and also with Walker, in Nicaragua, and was considered the best artillerist in the Confederate service. Colonel Higgins, formerly of the United States navy, and considered a most brave and excellent officer, had the immediate command of Fort Jackson. A large proportion of the forces inside the forts were Northern men, and there were also many foreigners. The party that seized the fort, early in 1861, was a company of German Yagers, and there were a number of Irish also. In all there were some six hundred or seven hundred men in the fort about the time of the bombardment. The Northern men were mostly sent down at an early stage of the proceedings, it was asserted most of them volunteered, hoping in that way to avoid suspicion, and, perhaps, not have to fight against the government after all.* A chain had been placed across the river, three-quarters of a mile below the forts, and was a formidable obstacle. It was brought from Pensacola, and was a very heavy one. It was supported

* Official report of S. Harris.



4. ATTACK ON FORTS JACKSON & ST PHILLIPS.

by heavy logs, thirty feet long, only a few feet apart, to the under side of each of which the chain was pinned near the up-stream end. The chain was kept from sagging down too far by seven heavy anchors, from which smaller chains ran to the main chain. These anchors were buoyed with can-buoys taken from Pilot Town. In a few months a raft formed on the upper side of this chain which reached up to the forts, and its weight swept away the whole obstruction and went to sea, carrying the buoys with it.

It was then replaced by the lighter chain, buoyed by hulks of eleven schooners. There were fire-rafts and boats above, prepared to descend the river with the current and destroy any ascending fleet. The whole system of defence was such, that the place was considered entirely impregnable. No uneasiness was felt either in Richmond or New Orleans when it was announced that the attack had commenced.

General Butler, after consultation with Commodore Farragut, embarked his force at Ship Island and proceeded to the passes of the Mississippi to await the action of the fleet. This, under Commodore Farragut, was the largest that had then ever been assembled under the stars and stripes. It consisted of eight steamships, sixteen gunboats, and twenty-one mortar schooners—in all forty-six sail, carrying 28½ guns. The mortar fleet was under Commodore D. D. Porter. This fleet ascended the river twenty-five miles to the forts, where a chain had been thrown across the river, and above, fire rafts and boats were prepared to send down with the current, while the gunboats and steam rams of the enemy guarded the river above. On the 18th of April the fleet opened upon the forts and then succeeded a furious bombardment which lasted six days. The fire rafts were ineffectual. During this bombardment, 25,000 thirteen-inch shell had been thrown at the forts, doing immense damage to the building. The bomb-shells seem to have been very effective. The fort was so much shaken by this firing that it was feared the casemates would come down about the ears of the defenders.

It was observed that the bombs that fell in the ditch, close to the walls of the fort, and exploded there, shook the fort much more severely than any of those that buried themselves in the solid ground.

During the bombardment the only guns that were much

used were the rifled guns, of which there were three, and the columbiad and Dahlgren guns, eight in number. The mortars fired occasionally. One of the rifled guns mounted on the fort proper before the bombardment, was sent, two days before the fire opened, to Island Number Ten. Captain Duncan telegraphed that the forts were safe, as the firing did not lead to results. Commodore Farragut finally determined to pass the forts. On the morning of the 24th, the squadron was formed in three lines. Captain Bailey's division, composed of the following vessels, leading to the attack of Fort St. Philip: Cayuga, Pensacola, Mississippi, Oneida, Varuna, Katahdin, Kineo, Wissahickon; Flag-Officer Farragut leading the following (second line): Hartford, Brooklyn, Richmond; and Commander Bell leading the third division, composed of the following vessels: Scioto, Iroquois, Pinola, Winona, Itasca, and Kennebec.

The steamers belonging to the mortar flotilla, one of them towing the Portsmouth, were to enfilade the water-battery commanding the approaches. Mortar-steamers Harriet Lane, Westfield, Owasco, Clifton and Marine—the Jackson towing the Portsmouth.

The vessels were rather late in getting under way and into line, and did not get fairly started until half-past 3 A. M. In an hour and ten minutes the fleet had passed the forts under a furious fire. It was alleged by the enemy that the raft had not been closed since a storm had rent a chasm in it; that by some fatality, the signals of both fleets were the same on that night; that orders of General Lovell, to keep the river lighted with fire rafts, had been disobeyed; that the person in charge of the signals had neglected to throw up rockets on the approach of a fleet. In consequence of all these mishaps, the ships got abreast of the forts before they were discovered. When they were seen, however, all the guns opened upon the devoted ships with extraordinary fury. When the ships had passed the forts, they encountered the enemy's fleet, of seventeen vessels in all, eight of them armed. The Varuna, Captain Charles Boggs, led the column, and was attacked by the enemy's vessels on all sides. Although the Varuna was badly cut up, she drove off four of the enemy. A steam ram then attacked the Varuna, staving her side and setting her on fire. The flames were with difficulty extinguished.

The enemy was so crippled in the encounter that he drew off, when another ram struck the *Varuna*, crushing in her side. Although then run ashore in a sinking condition, she delivered her fire as she went down so effectually that her enemy suffered great damage. The *Brooklyn* followed the *Varuna*. She was, in the darkness, butted by the ram *Manassas* without much damage. She proceeded, receiving a fire from a steamer and from Fort St. Philip as she passed, returning them with marked effect. She then encountered the fleet of the enemy, and was under fire an hour and a half, losing eight men killed and twenty-six wounded, and was much cut up. The steam rams impelled a fire raft on board the flag ship *Hartford*, running her ashore. Commodore Farragut then drew off and the fire was extinguished, but the *Hartford* was much injured. The *Manassas* then drifted ashore in flames, and was deserted by her crew. The forts having been thus passed and the fleet of the enemy supposed to be destroyed, the Union vessels proceeded to New Orleans without encountering serious obstacles. When the fleet passed above the forts, they overlooked three of the enemy's gunboats and the iron-clad battery *Louisiana*, which were at anchor under the walls of Fort Jackson. The appearance of these caused Commodore Porter to withdraw his mortar fleet some miles below. On the 28th, however, the officers of the fort surrendered to Commodore Porter. General Duncan alleged that he was compelled to yield in consequence of a mutiny in the garrison, to quell which he had been obliged to turn guns upon his own men, when he found that they were spiked. The naval officers, meantime, placed all their munitions of war on board the *Louisiana*, and she blew up opposite Fort St. Philip. The forts were found to be well supplied with provisions and ammunition.

There were around the city of New Orleans a number of vessels loaded with cotton and tobacco. These were to the estimated value of several millions destroyed by fire by order of General Lovell, who withdrew his forces from the city in order not to subject it to bombardment. The real reason of the evacuation was probably the fact that a single frigate anchored at Kenner's plantation, ten miles above the city, would effectually prevent any troops from leaving it.

On the 26th April the following correspondence passed:—

“UNITED STATES FLAGSHIP HARTFORD,

“OFF NEW ORLEANS, *April 26th, 1862.*

“TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF NEW ORLEANS:—

“SIR:—Upon my arrival before your city I had the honor to send to your honor Captain Bailey, United States Navy, second in command of the expedition, to demand of you the surrender of New Orleans to me as the representative of the government of the United States. Captain Bailey reported the result of an interview with yourself and the military authorities.

“It must occur to your honor that it is not within the province of a naval officer to assume the duties of a military commandant. I came here to reduce New Orleans to obedience to the laws of, and to vindicate the offended majesty of, the government of the United States. The rights of persons and property shall be secured.

“I therefore demand of you as its representative the unqualified surrender of the city, and that the emblem of the sovereignty of the United States be hoisted over the City Hall, Mint and Custom House, by meridian this day, and all flags and other emblems of sovereignty other than this of the United States be removed from all the public buildings by that hour.

“I particularly request that you shall exercise your authority to quell disturbances, restore order, and call upon all the good people of New Orleans to retire at once to their avocations, and I particularly demand that no person shall be molested in person or property, or for sentiments of loyalty to their government. I shall speedily and severely punish any person or persons who shall commit such outrages as were witnessed yesterday by armed men firing upon helpless women and children for giving expression to their pleasure at witnessing the ‘old flag.’

“I am, very respectfully,

D. C. FARRAGUT.

“*Flag Officer Western Gulf Squadron.*”

THE REPLY OF THE MAYOR.

“MAYOR’S OFFICE, CITY OF NEW ORLEANS,

“CITY HALL, *April 26, 1862.*

“FLAG OFFICER D. C. FARRAGUT, United States flagship Hartford:—

“SIR: In pursuance of a resolution which we thought proper to take out of regard for the lives of the women and children, who still crowd the metropolis, General Lovell has evacuated it with his troops, and restored back to me the administration of its government and the custody of its honor. I have, in council with the City Fathers, considered the demand you made of me yesterday of an unconditional surrender of the city, coupled with a requisition to hoist the flag of the United States on the public edifices, and haul down the flag that still floats upon the breeze from the dome of the Hall. It becomes my duty to transmit to you an answer which the universal sentiment of my constituents, no less than the prompting of my own heart declares to me on this sad and solemn occasion. The city is without the

means of defence, and is utterly destitute of the force and material that might enable it to resist an overpowering armament, displayed in sight of it.

"I am no military man, and possess no authority beyond that of executing the municipal laws of the city of New Orleans. It would be presumptuous in me to attempt to lead an army to the field, if I had one at command; and I know still less how to surrender an undefended place, held, as this is, at the mercy of your gunners and your mortars. To surrender such a place were an idle and unmeaning ceremony. The city is yours by the power of brutal force, not by my choice or the consent of its inhabitants. It is for you to determine what will be the fate that awaits us here. As to hoisting any flag not of our own adoption and allegiance, let me say to you that the man lives not in our midst whose hand and heart would not be paralyzed at the mere thought of such an act; nor could I find in my entire constituency so desperate and wretched a renegade as would dare to profane with hand the sacred emblem of our aspirations.

"Sir, you have manifested sentiments which would become one engaged in a better cause than that to which you have devoted your sword. I doubt not that they spring from a noble though deluded nature, and I know how to appreciate the emotions which inspired them. You have a gallant people to administrate during your occupancy of this city—a people sensitive to all that can in the least affect their dignity and self-respect. Pray, sir, do not fail to regard their susceptibilities. The obligations which I shall assume in their name shall be religiously complied with. You may trust their honor, though you might not count on their submission to unmerited wrong.

"In conclusion, I beg you to understand that the people of New Orleans, while unable to resist your force, do not allow themselves to be insulted by the interference of such as have rendered themselves odious and contemptible by their dastardly desertion of our cause in the mighty struggle in which we are engaged, or such as might remind them too forcibly that they are the conquered and you the conquerors. Peace and order may be preserved without resort to measures which I could not prevent. Your occupying of the city does not transfer allegiance from the government of their choice to one which they have deliberately repudiated, and they yield the obedience which the conqueror is entitled to extort from the conquered.

"Respectfully,

"JOHN F. MONROE, *Mayor.*"

After the city had surrendered to Commodore Faragut, and was completely under the guns of the fleet, General Butler, with a force composed of eight regiments, two batteries, and two companies of cavalry, commenced landing on the 1st of May, established his head-quarters at the Custom House, took possession of the City Hall.

&c., and required the St. Charles Hotel, which was closed, to open for the accommodation of himself and staff. He placed a censor over the press and a rigid surveillance of the army home correspondence to prevent any information being sent North.

He then issued a proclamation, which the papers refused to publish, for which he confiscated the *True Delta* office, and placed in it northern printers, and subsequently one of the editors of the Boston *Courier*, who, on the wish of General Butler, became the editor of the *Delta* as the organ of General Butler, who published a proclamation, in which he stated that "the laws of the United States would be enforced," but proclaimed martial law. He ordered a return made of all "libraries, works of art, and museums." The payment of municipal taxes was suppressed. The circulation of Confederate money forbidden. The telegraph was placed under the command of an army officer. For alleged opposition to the government, General Butler sent Captain French with the provost guard, to arrest the mayor and common council, and bring them before him at the St. Charles Hotel. The Hon. Pierre Soule, formerly United States senator, attended, at the invitation of the common council. General Butler read his proclamation to them and addressed them. He was replied to by Mr. Soule, on whose representations he was induced to modify a portion of it, and to permit the boats and railroads to bring in supplies to the famishing inhabitants. Mr. Soule also asked that the soldiers might be withdrawn to the suburbs of the city, since their presence in their midst was a continual source of irritation to the people. He was subsequently arrested, and sent to Fort Lafayette, New York.

Meantime Algiers was occupied by the Union troops, the Opelousas and Jackson railroad seized, and General Phelps occupied Carrollton, about five miles up the river.

When the city of New Orleans had surrendered to the fleet, and the troops had landed to occupy it, the gunboats proceeded up the river, and the troops under General Williams occupied Baton Rouge. On the 12th, they reached Natchez, and surrounded the place. The mayor replied, that they were a defenceless people, and could make no opposition to the force brought against them, and that

there was no Confederate property in the place. Four gunboats remained, and the others proceeded up the river and landed troops at Grand Gulf and Port Gibson. Commodore Farragut's fleet had been reinforced with heavy mortar boats, and he was instructed to open the Mississippi river from one end to the other. He was confident of his ability to do so with the force he had. The enemy, in the mean time, after the retreat from Corinth, had concentrated a force under Van Dorn at Vicksburg, which is situated on the Mississippi river, three hundred and ninety-five miles above New Orleans, and seven hundred and ninety-nine below St. Louis. It is distant by water from Cairo about six hundred and thirty miles, and from Memphis nearly four hundred miles. It is also over a hundred miles above Natchez. The city is on elevated ground, on the east branch of the river, which just above it makes a sharp turn to the north-east, rounds a point and returns on its course south-west, thus forming a tongue of land twelve miles long and one wide, with intersections between Tusculum and Vicksburg. The enemy had made the most of the natural advantages of the place, and a bluff below the town was surrounded with a fort, mounting eight guns, and the defences were otherwise very formidable. The bank of the river rises gradually for a couple of miles back, and on this curved slope lies the town, imbedded in a natural cradle. Above and below the city, on the sides of the slope, lay the batteries. Above was a three-banked battery, of tiers rising one above the other, from a point half way down the slope to the summit. Four heavy guns in each tier. On the 26th of June, the fleet attacked the batteries, and continued to bombard them all day, with little result. On the 27th, the fire was resumed, and Commodore Porter ordered the town shelled. The women and children had been removed previously. On the 28th, Commodore Farragut, whose fleet was then lying about five miles below the city, got word to the mortars to open fire upon the batteries at 4 o'clock in the morning, and he would endeavor to run some of his vessels past the batteries. Accordingly, the bombardment was recommenced at the hour named, and during its continuance, Farragut succeeded in passing the entire Confederate batteries with eight vessels, viz: three men of war, two sloops-of-war, and three gunboats. The Federal loss in passing the bat-

teries was four killed, twenty wounded. The fleet passed up, and was joined by that of Commodore Davis, descending from Memphis. Finding that Vicksburg would hold out, flag-officer Farragut determined to open the Mississippi in another way, namely, by cutting a canal across the tongue of land, thus opening a new channel for the river, and leaving Vicksburg far to one side. Instantly the work commenced. Negroes were gathered from every plantation around, and three or four hundred of them set to work. The canal was finally cut with much labor, but was found to be of no avail. The river was fast falling, and the water would not enter the ditch. General Williams, with his force, about 3,000 occupied the west bank of the river, and greatly aided the digging operations.

Meantime the fleet occupied the river above Vicksburg, near the mouth of the Yazoo river, up which stream there were in process of construction some Confederate vessels. On the 26th June, Colonel Ellett, with the rams *Monarch* and *Lancaster*, proceeded sixty-five miles up the Yazoo, in the view of destroying three new boats lying there, and to get information of the iron-clad steamer *Arkansas* being built. On his approach the boats were set on fire and cast adrift, compelling Colonel Ellett to leave the river in haste. The enemy now erected heavy batteries at Grand Gulf, and Ellis Bluff, below Vicksburg, supported by infantry under General Bragg and Gustavus Smith, and the steamer *Jenner*, four guns, with other vessels on their way to New Orleans, failed to get past the batteries. On the morning of 15th July, the gunboats *Carondelet* and *Tyler*, and the ram *Queen of the West*, got under way, steamed up the river a short distance, turned and headed up the Yazoo. Upon entering the river the *Queen* shot up ahead of the rest, the *Carondelet* following, while the *Tyler* brought up the rear. They had proceeded about five miles only, when the *Arkansas* was encountered on her way down. The *Carondelet* met her with a full broadside, but the shot glanced harmless from her plated sides. The ram run into the *Carondelet*, receiving another harmless broadside as she struck her opponent on the quarter, at the same time delivering her fire. Captain Walker then boarded his enemy, but could find no entrance. He then returned to his guns, but his vessel was a wreck, and a shot cut away the

steam pipe, scalding many men. The Arkansas then left her and made for the Tyler, which made the best of her way out of the river, closely followed by the enemy, into the midst of the fleet, some of the vessels of which, by some fatality, had not sufficient steam to move. The Louisiana shore was lined with our transports, ordnance boats, &c., while directly opposite them, three or four abreast, lay Farragut's and Davis's fleet, scarcely two of which could fire without pouring their broadsides into some of their own vessels. The ram, keeping her guns busy, passed all the vessels in succession. The Richmond, the J. H. Dickey, the Champion, and the Hartford, were all fired into. The eleven-inch shot of the Oneida fell harmless from her sides, as did the smaller missiles of others of the fleet, and finally reached her destination unharmed, under the guns of Vicksburg. The union loss was thirty-four killed, sixty-six wounded, and twenty-three missing. This unparalleled audacity and boldness elicited unqualified admiration of all. Such an occurrence never took place before, and will probably never take place again. In broad daylight, in the very teeth of a hundred guns, this craft slowly and deliberately made her way, selecting her own victims, and hurling the glove of defiance at the combined fleet. It is an example of cool, daring courage unexampled, and the name of Isaac N. Brown, her commander, will be awarded by all men as deserving a place among the list of those "who know no fear."

The Arkansas was an iron-clad vessel of one thousand three hundred tons, and was built at Memphis, but was removed from that point, in an unfinished condition, previous to the evacuation by our troops. She was completed in the Yazoo river. Her commander reported :

"VICKSBURG, *July 16th.*

"We engaged to-day, from six A. M., with the enemy's fleet above Vicksburg, consisting of four or more iron-clad gun-boats, and two heavy sloops of war, and four gun-boats and seven or eight rams. We drove an iron-clad ashore with colors down and disabled, blew up a ram, burned one vessel, and damaged several others. Our smoke stack was so shot to pieces that we lost steam and could not use our vessel as a ram. We were otherwise cut up, as we engaged at close quarters. Loss, ten killed and fifteen wounded, others with slight wounds.

"(Signed)

ISAAC N. BROWN,
"Lieutenant-Commanding."

The insult thus sustained by the fleet, nearly a parallel to that which the navy in the waters of the Hampton Roads, sustained four months previous, determined the two commanders-in-chief to destroy her at all hazards. It was determined in council that the fleet under Commodore Davis, should attack the batteries above Vicksburg, while the vessels of Farragut should attack the lower batteries, and during these attacks the Essex, under Porter, should run in and attack the Arkansas. On the morning of the 23d, this plan was put in execution, but failed from want of combined action. The Essex, in running into the ram missed her blow and ran ashore, exposed to all the guns of the place, numbering, as reported by Porter, seventy in battery, and twenty field-pieces. His vessel he reported hit forty-two times, and the armor penetrated twice. She drew off and went down the river, whence she could not return to join Davis's fleet.

The fleet was now in a critical position; there was but eighteen feet of water in the river between New Orleans and Vicksburg, and the flag-ships and others drew sixteen feet; as the water was still subsiding, there were fears of grounding, until the fall rains. It was therefore necessary to abandon Vicksburg and to go down the stream. The vessels of Farragut, above the city, passed down amidst a shower of shot of two hours duration, and joined the lower fleet without important loss. The Arkansas took no part in this movement, inasmuch as she was undergoing repairs. The force of General Williams was taken down and landed at Baton Rouge.

On the 5th of August the Confederates, to the number of three thousand, under Generals Breckinridge and Ruggles, attacked the Union force, under General Williams, with great vigor. There were in the river five Union gunboats, which aided the defence of Williams. The Confederates expected the ram Arkansas and her guns to aid the attack of Breckinridge, whose object was to possess the arsenal. After a severe struggle of five hours duration, he fell back without accomplishing that object, but with much loss, including General Clarke. A singular accident took place in this combat. While the enemy's column was advancing to the attack, it received a volley of musketry from a wood, where was retired a body of partisan rangers, who fired upon their friends by mistake.

There were a number wounded and one killed. This was one of the staff of General Breckinridge, Captain Alexander H. Todd, a brother of Mrs. Lincoln, the President's lady. The Union loss was also large, including General Williams, who was shot through the heart. During the night, Commodore Farragut left New Orleans with the Brooklyn and four gunboats, and arrived at Baton Rouge at noon on the 6th. The cause of the failure of the enemy's attack was an accident to the ram Arkansas. On her way down, under Lieutenant Stevens, one of her engines was disabled, and she anchored fifty miles above the town. On the 6th, she was attacked by the Union gunboats, when her commander ran her ashore and fled. She blew up after her crew had made their escape. Thus ended the second iron-clad vessel of the enemy. Each of them had a very short, but very brilliant existence, powerfully illustrating the force of the new agents introduced into naval warfare.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Privateers.—Confederate Navy.—Oreto.—Her Operations.—The Alabama.—Her Movements.—Diplomatic Correspondence.—Captures.—Hatteras Captured.

THE organization of the Confederate government included a naval force, of which, however, they possessed only the officers, of whom a crowd, mostly all those of Southern birth who had been in the service of the Federal government, had embraced the Southern cause on the outbreak of the war. The Southern States had never been commercial, nor were they possessed of much shipping or seafaring population, hence the material of a navy did not exist, even if the strict blockade which the immense naval force of the North maintained on the Southern coast, had permitted ingress and egress from and to the numerous harbors of that section. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the naval authorities managed to get to sea the Sumter and several other small crafts, which did much damage upon the ocean to Northern property in the first year of the war. The operations of that class of vessels closed with the year 1861, when the Sumter, having taken refuge at Gibraltar, was closely watched by the Federal steamer Tuscarora, and being unable to procure coal, was finally abandoned.

The success of the Sumter and her colleague had, however, encouraged the Confederates to undertake the formation of a more regular navy, and several large steamers were contracted for in England. The first of these was called the Oreto, and was in process of construction in Liverpool in February, 1862. When Mr. Adams, the American Minister, called the attention of Earl Russell to the fact that an armed steamer was being built to cruise against the United States, Earl Russell replied that it was alleged that she was being built for the Italian government, and he had no evidence to the contrary. On the

25th of the same month, Mr. Adams again addressed Earl Russell upon the same subject. Earl Russell replied:

With reference to your observations with regard to the infringement of the enlistment law, I have to remark that it is true the foreign enlistment act, or any other act for the same purpose, can be evaded by very subtle contrivances; but her Majesty's Government cannot, on that account, go beyond the letter of the existing law.

Mr. Adams having failed to make good the requisite evidence for her detention, she sailed, on the 22d of March, with a crew of fifty-two British seamen, for Palermo and Jamaica in ballast, which was alleged to be 170 tons of arms. The *Oreto* arrived at Nassau, where, on the representation of the American consul, she was seized by the authorities, but was released on the arrival of Captain Semmes, formerly of the *Sumter*. She was soon after again seized and again released. On the 4th September she suddenly appeared off Mobile harbor, which was blockaded by a steamer under command of Commander George Henry Preble, whose instructions were emphatic against giving offence to foreign nations while enforcing the blockade. The *Oreto* approached flying the English flag and pennants. She did not pay any attention to the signals of the American ship, but kept on under full steam for Mobile harbor. Commander Preble lost a few minutes of precious time, hesitating to fire lest she might really prove to be an English man-of-war. Those few moments were fatal, the *Oreto* gained her port, and Preble was summarily dismissed from the service without a hearing. The *Oreto* once in port, was fully armed and equipped for a cruise, and received as Commander John Newland Maffit, who had entered the United States naval service in 1832, as a citizen of Georgia, although born in Ireland, a son of the celebrated preacher of the same name. Maffit bore the reputation of a very bold and skilful officer. On the 27th December, left Mobile bay in the *Oreto* on a cruise, in which she did great damage to the American shipping.

The most active and formidable of the cruisers of the enemy during the year 1862, was the "290," or *Alabama* as she was subsequently called. She was constructed at Birkenhead works, Liverpool. The funds were supplied by the subscriptions of 290 merchants having business relations with the Southern States, and the vessel was presented to President Davis, who appointed Captain Raphael

Semmes, formerly of the *Sunter*, to her command. The ship is 1,200 tons burden; draft, fourteen feet; engines built by Laird and Sons, the senior of the firm a member of Parliament. She is a wooden vessel, propelled by a screw, coppered-bottomed, about 210 feet long, rather narrow, painted black outside and drab inside, has a round stem, billet head, very little shear, flush deck fore and aft, a bridge forward of the smoke-stack. She carries two large black boats on cranes amidships, forward of main rigging; two black quarter-boats between the main and mizzen mast; one small black boat over the stern on cranes; the spare spars on a gallows between the bridge and foremast, show above the rail. She carries three long 32-pounders on a side, a 100-pound pivot forward of the bridge, a 68-pounder pivot on the main-deck, and a 24-pounder rifle pivot stern-chaser. The guns are of the Blakely pattern, manufactured by Wesley and Preston, Liverpool, 1862. She is bark-rigged; has very long, black lower masts, with wire rigging; very long, black yardarms; studding-sail booms on the fore and main; carries on her foremast a square foresail; large topsail, with two reefs; and a bonnet and top-sail with two reefs; topgallant-sail and royal. On the mainmast, a large trysail with two reefs and a bonnet. No square mainsail bent; topsail two reefs; topgallant-sail and royal. On the mizzen mast, a very large spanker and a short three-cornered gaff-topsail; has a fore and fore-topmast staysail and jib. Has had no staysails to the main or mizzen masts bent, or royal yards aloft.

She is represented to go thirteen knots under canvas, and fifteen under steam; can get steam in twenty minutes, but seldom uses it, except in a chase or in an emergency.

When this vessel was near her completion, it became known that she was destined for the Southern service, notwithstanding that rumors were spread that she was built for an eastern government. In August she was nearly ready for sea, and the Federal man-of-war *Tuscarora* cruised in St. George's Channel to intercept her passage. Before she sailed, however, a large bark left the Thames, cleared for Demarara, loaded with guns, stores, and munitions. The *Alabama* then left the Mersey, under Captain Bullock, with a set of English papers and a crew of ninety-three old man-of-war's men, experienced gun-

ners, and to avoid the Tuscarora, took the north channel out. She had on board no guns or warlike stores. After a run of eight days, she reached Tarissa, one of the western islands. On her arrival, she gave the Portuguese authorities the plea of damaged engines as a reason for making port there. In the course of a week, the bark which had left the Thames for Demarara put in on pretence of having sprung a leak; she was quarantined three days. The Alabama immediately hauled alongside, and cranes were rigged by order of Captain Bullock. When in readiness, he began to transfer the cargo. This operation drew a protest from the Portuguese authorities against the infringement of the quarantine laws. But it was alleged that the bark was sinking, and it was necessary to save the cargo. On the following day there arrived in port the British steamer Bahama, having on board Captain Semmes, other late officers of the Sumter, twenty of the crew, and the remainder of the Alabama's armament, all of which was immediately transferred to that vessel. The patience of the Portuguese authorities, before sorely tried, was now exhausted, and they ordered all three vessels to leave port. They went a few miles to Angra bay, and remained twenty-four hours, and were again ordered off. They took their departure at once, the Alabama towing the bark, which made sail for Cardiff for coals for the Alabama. Captain Semmes then mustered the crew of the steamer, and read to them his commission as a post-captain in the Confederate navy. The document was signed, "Jefferson Davis, President, Confederate States of America." He then opened and read his sealed orders, directing him to assume command of the Alabama, hitherto known as the "290," on which he was to hoist the Confederate flag; and "sink, burn, and destroy every thing which flew the ensign of the so-called United States of America." The Confederate flag was then raised and saluted. The crew were then addressed by the captain, and informed if any of them were dissatisfied or disinclined to enter the Confederate service they had an opportunity to go on board the English steamer Bahama, about to leave for England. The offer was declined, and the vessels parted company.

The officers of the Alabama were Captain Raphael Semmes; first lieutenant, J. M. Kell; second lieutenant,

R. J. Armstrong, a relative of the famous inventor; third lieutenant, J. D. Wilson; fourth lieutenant, J. Low. On parting company with the *Bahama*, the *Alabama* gave chase to a whaler, and on the 6th September burned the ship *Ocmulgee*, of Edgartown. In the same month she burned eleven others, and before the close of the year she had destroyed thirty-seven vessels, of a value, with cargo, of some millions of dollars. Inasmuch as that the *Alabama* had no port where she might send vessels for adjudication and condemnation, she had no course but to destroy. The prize-money, or half the value of the vessels destroyed, was, it is stated, regularly paid in money to the crew, and the good pay and easy condition enabled Captain Semmes to keep a crew of picked men from the vessels captured. The prisoners captured by the *Alabama* were, in some cases, landed, and in others placed on board of captured vessels which were bonded. The ransom bills or bonds thus given, are recognized by the general law of nations. The captain may, by his contract, bind his owners, and the whole cargo as well as the ship. The English government have forbidden the giving of such bonds, but they have never been prohibited by the United States government. The bonds taken by the *Alabama* were generally payable six months after the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. These depredations upon the high seas, produced the greatest excitement at the north. The navy department despatched many cruisers to capture the enemy, but without success. The effect upon the United States commerce was very disastrous, not only in the actual destruction caused, but in the loss of trade occasioned to American bottoms. Numbers of vessels were transferred to foreign ownership, and foreign vessels commanded the freights. In England there was also much excitement, in consequence of the destruction of British property in the seized vessels.

June 23d, Mr. Adams again addressed Earl Russell on the subject of the "290," remarking—"This vessel has been built and launched from the dock-yard of persons, one of whom is now sitting as a member of the House of Commons, and is fitting out for the especial and manifest object of carrying on hostilities by sea. It is about to be commanded by one of the insurgent agents, the same who sailed in the *Oreto*. The parties engaged in the enter-

prise are persons well known at Liverpool to be agents and officers of the insurgents in the United States."

The note was accompanied by a letter from the United States consul at Liverpool, containing evidence as to the designs of the "290," with other evidence to show the character of her intentions. On the 31st of July, Mr. Adams wrote to Mr. Seward:—"In spite of all my efforts and remonstrances, which as yet wait the opinion of the law officers of the crown, I received, on the 29th instant, from Mr. Dudley, the consul at Liverpool, the news that she sailed without register or clearance from that port on that day. I immediately communicated the intelligence by telegraph to Captain Craven, of the *Tuscarora*, at Southampton. I learn from the consul at that place that the *Tuscarora* sailed thence at eight p. m. on the 29th instant.

Earl Russell subsequently remarked, in relation to the "290," that a delay in determining upon it had most unexpectedly been caused by the sudden development of a malady of the Queen's advocate, Sir John D. Harding, totally incapacitating him for the transaction of business. This had made it necessary to call in other parties, whose opinion had been at last given for the detention of the gunboat, but before the order got down to Liverpool the vessel was gone. He should, however, send directions to have her stopped if she went, as was probable, to Nassau. I said I was aware that the gunboat was off, but I did not say, what I myself have little doubt of, that her sudden departure was occasioned by a notion, obtained somehow or other, that such a proceeding was impending. I added an expression of satisfaction that the law officers of the crown had seen their way to such an opinion, and that it was the disposition of her Majesty's government to do something to check this outrageous abuse.

Under date of September 26th, Mr. Adams wrote:—"I have not been quite satisfied with the way in which my remonstrances respecting the outfit of the gunboat No. 290 had been left. In consequence I seized the first opportunity in my power to remind Lord Russell that no written answer had been given to me. This has had the desired effect. I have the honor to transmit copies of the two notes which have passed between us. In former days it was a favorite object of Great Britain to obtain from the United States an admission of the validity of claims for

damage done by vessels fitted out in their ports against her commerce. This was finally conceded to her in the seventh article of the treaty of 1794. The reasoning which led to that agreement may not be without its value at some future time, should the escape of the gunboat 290, and of her companion, the Oreto, prove to be of any serious injury to our commerce.

"The telegraph announces the destruction of another half-dozen American vessels on the high seas by the steamer 290. The President is obliged to regard these destructions as being made by British subjects in violation of the law of nations, after repeated and ample notice, warning, and remonstrances, had been given by me to the British Government. It is presumed that you have already brought the subject in that light to the notice of her Majesty's government. The legal proofs in support of a claim for indemnity will be collected and transmitted to you as speedily as possible."

The most daring movement of the enemy's cruisers was made in January, 1863. When a United States squadron, composed of the Brooklyn, Hatteras and five smaller vessels, was cruising off Galveston, a steamer, just after dark, appeared in the judgment of the officers of the Hatteras, endeavoring to escape. The crew of the Hatteras being at quarters, Captain Blake gave chase, when the steamer lay to under steam. When within hail, she replied to Captain Blake—"Her Britannic Majesty's ship Spitfire." Immediately thereafter the Alabama ranged a little ahead, her commander hailed, declaring her the Confederate steamer Alabama, and delivered her fire. The two vessels then, under full head of steam, exchanged broadsides as rapidly as possible. The Hatteras, in a few minutes, was in a sinking condition, and was compelled to surrender. The officers and crew were taken to Kingston, Jamaica, and paroled. In the action the Alabama was hulled fourteen times without much damage.

The two vessels continued their depredations on the coast with complete impunity until the month of June, when the Florida having captured the port vessel Tacony, put a crew on board, under Lieutenant Reed, to cruise on his own account. He made an excursion among the fishermen of the Grand Banks, capturing and destroying a great number, and threatening to break up the season's

business. A number of vessels were sent out in search of her, and Lieutenant Reed formed the daring plan of capturing the United States Revenue Cutter *Caleb Cushing*, then lying in Portland harbor. Her captain was sick on shore. The crew of the *Tacony* landed from a schooner at night, boarded the *Caleb Cushing*, and, taking possession, made sail. The wind died away, however, and they could not gain the offing. As soon as it was discovered that she was gone, two steam vessels were sent in pursuit, with the intention of running her down. She was, however, blown up and abandoned by the crew, who escaped in a boat, but were subsequently captured with their commander.

The operations of these Confederate cruisers were in the greatest degree injurious to the American commerce. They sailed without the authority of any recognized power, and although admitted to belligerent rights by neutral nations, were not permitted to send in prizes for adjudication, and had no ports of their own to which they could gain access. Their work, therefore, was one of destruction, and to such an extent was this successful, that a great change was effected in the nature of northern commerce. The degree of this change is apparent, in the following table of the business of the port of New York for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1860 and 1863, distinguishing foreign from American tonnage:

	Year 1860.		Year 1863.	
	In American vessels.	In Foreign vessels.	In American vessels.	In Foreign vessels.
Imports from Foreign Ports..	\$130,505,156	\$104,549,748	\$63,856,292	\$106,630,141
Exports to Foreign Ports.....	75,471,927	63,274,900	82,321,296	153,094,774
Total Trade of 1859.....	\$212,977,083	\$167,824,648	\$150,277,588	\$239,724,915
Increase.....				\$71,900,267
Decrease.....			\$63,600,495	

In 1860 the commerce by American vessels exceeded that by foreign vessels to the amount of forty-six million dollars. In 1862, this was reversed and the commerce by foreign flags exceeded that by our own flag to the amount of eighty-nine million dollars. A considerable part of this change was doubtless owing to the greater employment of American ships as government transports; part of it was also due to the fact that much of the importing business was done by the steamers, under the foreign flag; and still another reason for the change

may be found in a covering transfer of vessels to a foreign flag for safety. But after making every allowance for these influences, it must be evident that the fear of depredations on our commerce by the Confederates and privateers, drove a large portion of our foreign trade to neutral vessels. The fact that the vessels which did this damage to American commerce were built, armed, and to some extent manned from English resources, and paid for by a loan of \$15,000,000 contracted in England on Confederate account, secured upon cotton, was productive of great ill-will towards that nation. It was evident in the increased employment of foreign vessels in the international trade that she found her advantage in the course she pursued.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

General Pope's Army.—Its condition.—McClellan's Army.—Enemy cross the Potomac.—McClellan in command.—Halleck refuses troops.—South Mountain.—Harper's Ferry.—Antietam.—Hooker.—Sumner.—Burnside.—Retreat of the enemy.—Advance of the Army.—McClellan superseded.

The stricken army of Pope was collected at Centreville on the 31st August. On that day he telegraphed to General Halleck, as follows :

"August 31st, 10.45 P. M.

"Our troops are all here, and in position, though much used up and worn out. I think it would, perhaps, have been greatly better if Sumner and Franklin had been here three or four days ago. But you may rely upon our giving them (the enemy) as desperate a fight as I can force our men to stand up to. I should like to know whether you feel secure about Washington, should this army be destroyed. I shall fight it as long as a man will stand up to the work. You must judge what is to be done, having in view the safety of the capital. The enemy is already pushing a cavalry reconnoissance in our front at Cub Run, whether in advance of an attack to-day I don't yet know. I send you this that you may know our position and my purpose."

On the 2d of September, General Pope was ordered to fall back to the vicinity of Washington, where his army came under the command of General McClellan.

Franklin had been peremptorily ordered to Fairfax by General Halleck, August 29th, and subsequently went to Centreville. All orders for the movements of the different corps of McClellan's army, as they landed, came from General Halleck. General McClellan had never been formally deprived of his command, which he retained at Aquia Creek and Alexandria, over the troops that remained there; but all the troops were in succession detached from his command in support of Pope, when they were no longer under his command, and he remained in Alexandria without any command. On the 1st September, he was ordered verbally to take command of the defences of Washington, but not to assume control of the troops of Pope. On the 2d, Pope was ordered to retreat upon Washington, and a

formal order* then issued to McClellan to take command of the troops in and around Washington, comprising those of Pope. The troops, as they retired, were hard pressed by the enemy, and covered by Fitz John Porter's corps as a rear guard, which should have been aided by General Hooker's corps. The troops on the 3d were within the works of Washington. Meantime the enemy had moved by their left, reaching the Potomac above Washington. They crossed the river on the 4th, 5th and 6th of September, marching at once upon Frederick, the capital of the State of Maryland, which was occupied by General D. H. Hill. At that time Colonel Miles, with 11,000 troops, occupied Harper's Ferry, and the plan of the enemy seemed to be, for Jackson to move from Frederick by the main Hagerstown road, and, leaving it at some point near Middleburg, to cross the Potomac near Sharpsburg, and endeavor to capture the garrison of Martinsburg, commanded by General Julius White, who was driven out on the 6th, and cut off the retreat of the garrison of Harper's Ferry in that direction. General McLaws was ordered, with his own command and the division of General Anderson, to move out by the same Hagerstown road and gain possession of the Maryland Heights, opposite Harper's Ferry. General Walker, who was then apparently somewhere near the mouth of the Monocacy, was to move through Lovettsville and gain possession of Loudon Heights, thus completing the investment of Harper's Ferry. General Longstreet was ordered to move to Hagerstown, with Hill to serve as a rear guard. Their reserve trains to Manassas, &c., were ordered to take a position either at Boonsboro or Hagerstown. After Jackson, Walker, McLaws, &c., had taken Harper's Ferry, they were to rejoin the main army at Hagerstown or Boonsboro.

On the 11th, McClellan pointed out the exposed and useless position of Miles at Harper's Ferry, and requested that he should join the main attack. This General Halleck refused. The enemy on the 8th issued a proclamation to the people of Maryland, calling upon them to throw off the restraints of the Union government, and join the south. A general uprising of the people was no doubt expected to result from this invitation, which, however, received no

* Ante, page 623.

response, and the disappointment in this respect, no doubt frustrated the evident plan of the enemy, to remain in Maryland and invade Pennsylvania. So great was the alarm in this respect, that Governor Curtin, of Pennsylvania, called out the militia to defend the State, and 75,000 troops responded to the call. The extreme left of the enemy attacked on the 10th a force of Ohio troops at Fayette, Western Virginia, under Colonel Siber, drove them upon Gauley with great loss, and destroyed a large amount of government stores.

The necessity of meeting this irruption of the enemy into Maryland was pressing; but no one seemed to know where the enemy really was, or how far he might be from Washington, with the defence of which General McClellan had been invested.

A new arrangement of corps commanders was announced in the following order:

1st.....	Major-General	Hooker.
2d.....	" "	Sumner.
3d	" "	Heintzelman.
4th.....	" "	Keyes.
5th.....	" "	Fitz John Porter.
6th.....	" "	Franklin.
7th.....	" "	Dix.
8th.....	" "	Wool.
9th.....	" "	Burnside.
10th.....	" "	Mitchel.
11th.....	" "	Sedgwick.
12th.....	" "	Sigel.

Burnside had command of the right, with the object of forcing the pass through which runs the old Cumberland road. On the 13th, General Burnside, with Cox and Reno's corps, encountered very sharp resistance from the enemy, and suffered some loss, through the delay of General Hooker in coming to his support. That officer had been placed in command of the first, General McDowell's old corps, and was ordered by General McClellan to press forward to the support of Burnside, but did not come up until the pass was gained. The enemy had occupied the South Mountain range, apparently to bar the advance of the Union troops, while their main body, retiring from Frederick through Boonsboro, concentrated at Sharpsburg in front of the Shepherdstown ford of the Potomac.

The movement of troops to meet the enemy in Mary-

land, seems to have grown out of the command General McClellan held, since no orders were ever issued for him to take command of the movement in the field. With great energy and address the beaten troops of Pope, as they came into Washington, September 3d, were reorganized, recombined and put in motion north of the Potomac, interposing between Frederick and the fords, which were the means of the enemy's retreat. Having ascertained the views of the enemy, General McClellan at once gave orders for a vigorous pursuit, throwing the main force by the Hagerstown road. Franklin's corps, on the left, was ordered to attack and carry Crampton's Pass, about four miles from the main road. The object of throwing Franklin in that direction was to facilitate the attack on the main pass, and to place him in position to afford relief to Harper's Ferry as promptly as possible. On the 11th, General McClellan wrote to General Halleck as follows:

"I believe this army fully appreciates the importance of a victory at this time, and will fight well; but the result of a general battle, with such odds as the enemy now appears to have against us, might, to say the least, be doubtful; and, if we should be defeated, the consequences to the country would be disastrous in the extreme. Under these circumstances, I would recommend that one or two of the three army corps now on the Potomac, opposite Washington, be at once withdrawn, and sent to reinforce this army. I would also advise that the force of Colonel Miles at Harper's Ferry, where it can be of little use, and is continually exposed to be cut off by the enemy, be immediately ordered here. This would add about 25,000 old troops to our present force, and would greatly strengthen us.

"If there are any rebel forces remaining on the other side of the Potomac, they must be so few that the troops left in the forts, after the two corps shall have been withdrawn, will be sufficient to check them; and with the large cavalry force now on that side, kept well out in front to give warning of the distant approach of any very large army, a part of this army might be sent back within the intrenchments to assist in repelling an attack. But even if Washington should be taken while these armies are confronting each other, this would not, in my judgment, bear comparison with the ruin and disasters which would follow a single defeat of this army. If we should be successful in conquering the gigantic rebel army before us, we would have no difficulty in recovering it. On the other hand, should their force prove sufficiently powerful to defeat us, could all the forces now around Washington be sufficient to prevent such a victorious army from carrying the works on this side of the Potomac after they are uncovered by our army? I think not."

In reply, September 13th, General Halleck refused more troops, but censured General McClellan for going so far

from Washington, which he said would be taken by the enemy's troops south of Washington. In the mean time, the enemy fell back from Frederick, before the advance of the Union army, towards the fords of the upper Potomac, in the Hagerstown valley, to reach which it was necessary for the Union troops to force the mountain range, which commanded the valley and which was defended by strong bodies of the enemy, at Turner's Gap and Crampton's Gap. The former was carried by the troops under General Burnside, Crampton's Gap was carried Sunday, September 14th, by General Franklin, who displayed a skill, determination and heroism, which, despite the great difficulties against which he had to contend, obtained possession of the mountain range and opened the debouches into the valley.

The enemy retired towards Sharpsburg; the troops were ordered to pursue as promptly as possible. The corps commanded by General Sumner, General Hooker and General Mansfield were ordered to follow the main turnpike. The corps of Burnside, and what there was up of Porter's corps, were ordered forward by a small road parallel to and on the left of the main pike, thus being in position to support either Franklin or the right, as might be necessary. Franklin was ordered to cross into Pleasant Valley, and to do all that he could for the relief of Harper's Ferry. The orders given to the troops on the right were that if they found the enemy on the march to attack him at once; if they found him in a strong position, then to put our troops in position and make all the arrangements for an attack and await orders. The enemy's troops around Harper's Ferry had meantime pressed the place close. The assault was opened on the 12th with great vigor. The Union troops on the 13th were drawn from Maryland Heights. Colonel Miles was thus surrounded by a cordon of fire, and finding it useless to hold out longer, surrendered on the 15th; he was soon after mortally wounded. There were 11,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. The latter escaped, and the former laid down their arms, of which the enemy possessed themselves, with fifty guns, and a very large amount of stores and ammunition. This disaster enabled the enemy's troops under the energetic Jackson, which had been occupied before the place, to cross the river by the bridge, to the support of the main

army now concentrating before Sharpsburg, to receive McClellan's advance, which was led by Richardson's division, and which came up with the enemy about mid-day between Antietam Creek and Sharpsburg, on the road leading to the ford. The Confederates were formed in two lines perpendicular to the road and about six miles long each, the road running through their centre. They had planted about sixty guns to command the Antietam bridge by which the Union troops advanced. The enemy were apparently preparing to pass the fords, but were allowed time in consequence of the delay of General Hooker, who was with the advance, and who lost time in not attacking them at once, his whole corps having arrived at five o'clock on the 15th, the day of the surrender of Miles. When General McClellan arrived on the field, he at once ordered Hooker, at two o'clock on Tuesday the 16th, to move three miles above Sharpsburg and cross the Antietam and attack the enemy, but he did not get into position until after dark, and then sent word to General McClellan that he would attack next morning; during the evening Mansfield's corps was sent to his support. The enemy meanwhile were rapidly concentrating, and received reinforcements from the troops, who having captured Harper's Ferry, were joining the main force. From the morning of the 15th to the morning of the 17th, General Hooker had remained inactive.

Meantime the enemy had formed his dispositions. His force, concealed by a cover of woods occupied a crescent-shaped height commanding three lines of retreat to the Potomac, *via* the Shepherdstown road, the Hagerstown road, and the Williamsport road. Along the front of his position ran the Antietam Creek, crowned by three bridges corresponding to three roads named. The enemy were commanded by General Robert E. Lee; his left by Major-General Thomas J. Jackson; his centre by General James Longstreet, and his right by General A. P. Hill. At the right or Hagerstown road bridge, passed Hooker on the right of the army. The bridge was held during the battle by Pleasanton's cavalry. The centre was commanded by the heavy guns of the enemy. The left bridge was crossed by Burnside, and between these two bridges stretched the Union line of battle four miles long. The plan was generally as follows: Hooker was to cross on the right,

establish himself on the enemy's left, if possible, flanking his position, and to open the fight. Sumner, Franklin and Mansfield were to send their forces also to the right, co-operating with and sustaining Hooker's attack while advancing also nearer the centre. The heavy work in the centre was left mostly to the batteries. On the left Burnside was to carry the bridge already referred to, advancing then by a road which enters the pike at Sharpsburg, turning at once the rebel flank and destroying his line of retreat. Porter and Sickles moved their infantry in the hollows of the centre as reserves for all contingencies.

The attack was commenced at dawn of the 17th by Hooker, who was at once supported by Sumner. Meade's infantry and Rickett's batteries opened the fire on the enemy's left. The engagement immediately became very sharp, and raged for half an hour in an open field skirted by a thick wood, at the end of that time the fire of the enemy began to recede, and his line to waver. As soon as this was perceived, Meade and his Pennsylvanians rushed forward with a cheer. The line carried before it the whole force of the retreating Confederates, who disappeared into the frowning woods, leaving great numbers of dead and wounded on their path. As the victorious brigade approached the skirt of the cover there burst forth a torrent of flame and shot which swept the advancing force like a whirlwind. They hesitated, halted, closed up and retired, as the fatal shower poured upon their thinning ranks, leaving but a regiment where a division had been. They had sustained the overwhelming fire of fresh troops, who now issued from the woods in vast numbers, with wild yells in the manner of the Confederate troops, recovering the ground their comrades had lost. Hooker sent forward a brigade to stay the torrent, but it was insufficient. Hartstuff's brigade then came into action with a run, and formed rapidly on a ridge in a corn field. This they held for half an hour, when General Hartstuff was wounded.

Meantime Rickett's division had fallen back with part of Mansfield's corps, which had been sent to their relief, and which had lost their general, mortally wounded; nevertheless, with Doubleday's guns in position, the left could hold its own. Orders were then sent to Crawford and Gordon, Mansfield's remaining brigades, to advance, and the whole line was ordered forward to take a point

of woods to the right of the cornfield, and which was the key of the position. The advance was led by General Hooker, who, at that moment, was hit in the foot by a rifle shot. It was now nine o'clock, and the battle had raged four hours, leaving a large portion of Hooker's brigade broken, but his right and the two brigades of Mansfield still untouched. At this moment General Sumner arrived on the field and took command. Sedgwick's division was in advance, moving forward to support Crawford and Gordon. Rebel reinforcements were approaching also, and the struggle for the roads was again to be renewed. Sumner sent forward two divisions. Richardson and French on the left. Sedgwick moving in column of division through the roads in rear, deployed and advanced in line over the cornfield. There was a broad interval between him and the nearest division, and he saw that if the rebel line was complete, his own division was in immediate danger of being flanked.

To extend his own front as far as possible, he ordered the thirty-fourth New York to move by the left flank. The manœuvre was attempted under a fire of the greatest intensity, and the regiment broke; so terrible was the fire, that half their officers were killed or wounded, their colors shot to pieces, the color-sergeant killed, every one of their color-guard wounded. Only thirty-two were afterwards got together. The fifteenth Massachusetts went in with seventeen officers, 600 men, and came out with six officers, and 134 men. General Dana was wounded. General Howard, who took command of the division after General Sedgwick was disabled, exerted himself to restore order, but it could not be done there. General Sumner ordered the line to be reformed under fire. The test was too severe for volunteer troops under such a fire. Sumner himself attempted to arrest the disorder, but to little purpose. Lieutenant-Colonel Revere and Captain Andenried of his staff were wounded severely, but not dangerously. It was impossible to hold the position. General Sumner withdrew the division to the rear, and once more the cornfield was abandoned to the enemy. At the same moment, the enemy perceiving their advantage, came round on that flank. Crawford was obliged to give way on the right, and his troops pouring in confusion through the ranks of Sedgwick's advanced brigade, threw it into disorder and

back on the second and third lines. The enemy advanced, their fire increasing.

It was now one o'clock, and affairs on the right had a gloomy look. Hooker's troops were greatly exhausted, and their general away from the field. Mansfield's were no better. Sumner's command had lost heavily, but two of his divisions were still comparatively fresh. Richardson, while gallantly leading a regiment under heavy fire, had been severely wounded. General Meagher was wounded at the head of his brigade. The loss of general officers was becoming alarming.

Artillery was yet playing vigorously in front, though the ammunition of many of the batteries was entirely exhausted, and they had been compelled to retire.

Doubleday held the right inflexibly. Sumner's headquarters were now in the narrow field where the night before, Hooker had begun the fight, and McClellan rode over it to inspect the position in person. All that had been gained in front had been lost. The enemy's battalion, however, was fortunately either partially disabled or short of ammunition. French sent word he could hold his ground, and Sumner was confident that he could hold his own, but another advance was out of the question. The enemy, on the other hand, seemed to be too much exhausted to attack.

At this crisis, Franklin came up with fresh troops, and commanding one division of the corps, formed on the left. Slocum was sent forward along the slopes lying under the first ranges of the hills held by the enemy, while Smith was ordered to retake the cornfields and woods which all day had been so hotly contested. It was done in the handsomest style. His Maine and Vermont regiments and the rest went forward on the run, and, cheering as they went, swept like an avalanche through the cornfields, fell upon the woods, cleared them in ten minutes, and held them. They were not again retaken. Four times it had been lost and won, but finally, with its soul-harrowing burden of dead and sorely-wounded men, with their imploring looks and plaintive calls for help, remained with the Union troops, bent upon preserving it against impending attacks. These, however, were suspended for some hours, perhaps through the exhaustion of the enemy. The position of the right now was that of a semicircle or almost

three sides of a square, resulting from the course of the battle. Hooker had advanced his centre so far as to expose both flanks to the blows of the enemy, and the forcing back of these flanks left the centre far advanced and exposed to a dangerous enfilading fire.

Meantime, affairs on the left were not more prosperous. Burnside had made his attack at ten o'clock, and carried the bridge only after a most obstinate resistance at half-past one o'clock; but the delay had been so great that at three o'clock but little real progress had been made. Thus, instead of the two attacks having been simultaneous as was intended, the right had borne the whole weight of the enemy before Burnside made himself felt. He had, unlike Sumner, who had hurled his whole force at the enemy and lost it, made successive attacks with insufficient forces. Thus occupying more time to arrive at the same result. At four o'clock General McClellan sent orders for Burnside to carry the batteries in his front at all hazards, and for Franklin to carry the woods on his left front. This latter was countermanded at the instance of Sumner, who thought it was not prudent to risk a repulse of Franklin, since it would uncover his own left, which he held with difficulty. Franklin therefore advanced his batteries to check the enemy on Burnside's right, who was about to make what had been thought the decisive, but long-delayed attack. The object of which was to establish himself on the Sharpsburg road in rear of the enemy.

For this movement he had 16,000 men. Getting his troops well in hand, and sending a portion of his artillery to the front, he advanced them with rapidity and the most determined vigor, straight up the hill in front, on top of which the rebels had maintained their most dangerous battery. The movement was in plain view of McClellan's position, and as Franklin, on the other side, sent his batteries into the field about the same time, the battle seemed to open in all directions with greater activity than ever.

The guns of Burnside opened, from his new position, with a fire that controlled the enemy's batteries. The long infantry columns were seen moving up the green slopes with a rapid and determined step. As they reached the crest, a thick cloud of dust rose over the road, where was planted the Confederate batteries. Beneath the blue flames flashed, amid a rushing tumult of men, wagons, and horses,

down the road. As the whirlwind swept on, men, horses, sometimes whole ranks went down before the pursuers. A sudden shout and the hill is carried. Burnside formed his columns in the near angles of two fields bordering the road,—high ground about them everywhere except in rear.

In another moment, a Confederate battle-line appeared on the brow of the ridge above them, and moved swiftly down in the most perfect order, though met by incessant discharges of musketry, did not reply. White spaces show where men are falling, but they close up instantly, and still the line advances. The brigades of Burnside are in heavy column; they will not give way before a bayonet charge in line. The firm front seems to intimidate the enemy.

There is a halt, the enemy's left gives way and scatters over the field, the rest stand fast and fire. More infantry comes up. Burnside is outnumbered, flanked, compelled to yield the hill he took so bravely. His position is no longer one of attack; he defends himself with unfaltering firmness, but he sends to McClellan for help. McClellan's glass for the last half hour has seldom been turned away from the left.

He sees clearly enough that Burnside is pressed—needs no messenger to tell him that. But the hour is full of peril. All his troops are engaged except the 15,000 reserve under Fitz John Porter; all the other forces, tired with a day's fighting, are beyond the Antietam, holding their own with difficulty. Their ultimate safety may depend upon that handful of fresh men, and they cannot be spared. General Porter and General Sykes agree in that opinion. General Burnside's messenger demanded troops and guns to hold his position. General McClellan replied, with a peremptory order, to hold the bridge at all hazards. "Tell him if he cannot hold his ground, then the bridge, to the last man!—always the bridge! if the bridge is lost, all is lost."

He detached General Morrell, with 5,000 men to Burnside, to aid in holding the bridge, since if the enemy should pass by that bridge on the flank and rear of the army, the disaster would be fatal. At that critical moment the fire of the enemy slackened. It was sun down, and with the fading light the tumult of battle died away.

The peril came very near, but it passed, and in spite of the peril, at the close the day was partly a success—not a

victory, but an advantage had been gained. Hooker, Sumner and Franklin held all the ground they had gained, and Burnside still held the bridge and his position beyond. Every thing was favorable for a renewal of the fight in the morning. Nearly all the troops had sustained successive reverses during the day.

Burnside hesitated for hours in front of the bridge which was to have been carried by a *coup de main*. Meantime Hooker had to be fighting for hours with various fortune. Sumner had come up too late to join in the decisive attack, and Franklin reached the scene only when Sumner had been repulsed, and finally Burnside was driven back from the ground he had gained.

The next morning it was found that the loss had been so great and the different corps were so much disorganized, that the attack could not be renewed. Hooker's corps, which had numbered 18,000, mustered only 3,500 fit for service, and its commander wounded. Four days after, however, it recovered to 13,500, through arrival of convalescents and stragglers. The other corps were in a similar condition. It was necessary to wait for their recovery, and also for two fresh divisions coming up, numbering 15,000 men. It was decided to renew the attack on the 19th; on the night of the 18th, however, the enemy abandoned his position and retired across the Potomac into Virginia. McClellan slowly followed and took up a position on the Maryland Heights on the 20th, and recaptured Harper's Ferry on the 23d. General McClellan stated the number of his army at 93,000 men, of whom 75,000 were engaged, and he reported his loss at 12,469, which, with 2,325 at South Mountain, made 14,794, and added to the 11,000 captured at Harper's Ferry, 25,794. The number of the enemy engaged was 100,000; his loss was estimated at 20,000.

The enemy in retiring across the Potomac, did so in direction of Winchester, up the valley of the Shenandoah, a direction which involved the Union commander in some perplexity, since it was a route by which the enemy could not be followed beyond Winchester, for want of means of transportation and subsistence. Yet it was necessary to defeat him at Winchester, if possible, to prevent his return into Maryland as soon as the Union army should have crossed lower down the Potomac.

The authorities at Washington were very anxious for General McClellan's advance between the enemy and Washington, in order to cover the latter city, being continually tormented with the same fear, the capture of Washington, which had preceded Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. The same reason induced continual urging General McClellan to a forward movement, who was fully occupied in reorganizing his shattered columns, and demanding recruits and supplies. The delays at Washington prevented the latter from reaching him in adequate quantities, more particularly for cavalry, in which he was very deficient. On the 6th of October a peremptory order issued for the army to move south of the Potomac while the roads were good, promising 30,000 men if it moved on a line east of the valley, and 12,000 if up the valley. On the 10th of October the Confederate General Stuart, at the head of a cavalry force 2,000 strong, crossed the Potomac at a point above the Union army, and pushed rapidly for Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, where they burned the railroad depot, and captured a considerable quantity of government clothing and stores. They supplied themselves with fresh horses, and then pushed south, crossing the Potomac between the Union army and Washington, carrying off an immense booty, and escaping without loss. General McClellan in a complaint to Washington pointed out that this insult was the result of neglecting his request for horses to remount his men and strengthen his cavalry. The culpable neglect in this respect was now in some degree remedied. The President wrote that if the enemy had more occupation south of the Potomac he would be less likely to make raids north of it. The following correspondence took place between the President and General McClellan :

EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *October 13, 1862.*

"MY DEAR SIR: You remember my speaking to you of what I called your overcautionsness. Are you not overcautions when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim?"

"As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester, unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester at a distance nearly twice as

great from railroad transportation as you would have to do without the railroad last named. He now waggons from Culpepper Court-house, which is just about twice as far as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with waggons as you are. I certainly should be pleased for you to have the advantage of the railroad from Harper's Ferry to Winchester; but it wastes all the remainder of Autumn to give it to you, and in fact ignores the question of *time*, which cannot and must not be ignored.

"Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is, 'to operate upon the enemy's communications as much as possible without exposing your own.' You seem to act as if this applies *against* you, but cannot apply in your *favor*. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communication with Richmond within the next twenty-four hours? You dread his going into Pennsylvania. But if he does so in full force, he gives up his communications to you absolutely, and you have nothing to do but to follow and ruin him; if he does so with less than full force, fall upon and beat what is left behind all the easier.

"Exclusive of the water line, you are now nearer Richmond than the enemy is by the route that you *can* and he *must* take. Why can you not reach there before him, unless you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on yours as on his.

"You know I desired, but did not order, you to cross the Potomac below instead of above the Shenandoah and Blue Ridge. My idea was, that this would at once menace the enemy's communications, which I would seize if he would permit. If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications, and move toward Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him if a favorable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say 'try;' if we never try, we shall never succeed. If he make a stand at Winchester, moving neither north nor south, I would fight him there, on the idea that if we cannot beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him. This proposition is a simple truth, and is too important to be lost sight of for a moment. In coming to us, he tenders us an advantage which we should not waive. We should not so operate as to merely drive him away. As we must beat him somewhere, or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. If we cannot beat the enemy where he now is, we never can, he again being within the intrenchments at Richmond.

"Recurring to the idea of going to Richmond on the inside track, the facility of supplying from the side, away from the enemy, is remarkable, as it were, by the different spokes of a wheel, extending from the hub toward the rim, and this whether you move directly by the chord or on the inside arc, hugging the Blue Ridge more closely. The chord-line, as you see, carries you by Aldie, Haymarket and Fredericksburg, and you see how turnpikes, railroads, and finally the Potomac, by Aquia Creek, meet you at all points from

Washington. The same, only the lines lengthened a little, if you press closer to the Blue Ridge part of the way. The gaps through the Blue Ridge I understand to be about the following distances from Harper's Ferry, to wit: Vestal's, five miles; Gregory's, thirteen; Snicker's, eighteen; Ashby's, twenty-eight; Manassas, thirty-eight; Chester, forty-five, and Thornton's, fifty-three. I should think it preferable to take the route nearest the enemy, disabling him to make an important move without your knowledge, and compelling him to keep his forces together for dread of you. The gaps would enable you to attack if you should wish. For a great part of the way you would be practically between the enemy and both Washington and Richmond, enabling us to spare you the greatest number of troops from here. When, at length, running for Richmond ahead of him enables him to move this way; if he does so, turn and attack him in the rear. But I think he should be engaged long before such point is reached. It is all easy if our troops march as well as the enemy, and it is unmanly to say they cannot do it. This letter is in no sense an order.

"Yours, truly,

"A. LINCOLN.

"Major-General McCLELLAN."

"HEAD-QUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
"CAMP IN PLEASANT VALLEY, *October 17, 1862.*

"SIR: Your letter of the 13th inst. reached me yesterday morning, by the hands of Colonel Perkins.

"I had sent out strong reconnoissances, early in the morning, in the direction of Charlestown, Leetown, &c., and, as sharp artillery firing was heard, I felt it incumbent to go to the front. I did not leave Charlestown until dark, so that I have been unable to give to your Excellency's letter that full and respectful consideration which it merits at my hands.

"I do not wish to detain Colonel Perkins beyond this morning's train. I therefore think it best to send him back with this simple acknowledgment of the receipt of your Excellency's letter. I am not wedded to any particular plan of operations. I hope to have, to-day, reliable information as to the position of the enemy, whom I still believe to be between Bunker Hill and Winchester. I promise you that I will give to your views the fullest and most unprejudiced consideration, and that it is my intention to advance the moment my men are shod, and my cavalry are sufficiently renovated to be available.

"Your Excellency may be assured that I will not adopt a course which differs at all from your views, without first fully explaining my reasons, and giving you time to issue such instructions as may seem best to you.

"I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"GEO. B. McCLELLAN,

"Major-General, United States Army.

"His Excellency the PRESIDENT.

General Sumner made a reconnoissance to Charlestown on the 16th, driving out the enemy and occupying the town.

At length, on the 20th of October, the main body of the army began the passage of the river at Berlin, six miles below Harper's Ferry, General Pleasanton leading, thus complying with the wish of the enemy, that he should move between the enemy and Washington. They proceeded by way of Leesburg, pushing forward scouts towards Aldie and Middleburg. The main advance of the army was parallel to and east of the Blue Ridge. The enemy were in the valley west of the Blue Ridge, and spread from Winchester southward. They had large reinforcements at Gordonsville, seventy-five miles south of Winchester, and whence the railroad runs to Richmond. They thus had the choice to fall back or to give battle at pleasure. If they found themselves in sufficient force they might give battle in front on the Rappahannock, where they were strongly intrenched, and at the same time make a vigorous attack on the Union rear from the valley. The Union advance could not cut off the enemy from Richmond, and it was also further from the main points of the valley than the enemy. A continued series of skirmishes of outposts and cavalry corps resulted in the Union possession of the passes of the Blue Ridge. On the 1st of November, an artillery duel took place at Philomont, between General Pleasanton and one battery of Stuart's cavalry. The latter retired, leaving the Union troops in possession of the place. On the 3d, General Hancock occupied Snecker's Gap; and on the following day General Porter sent a force through the gap to reconnoitre, which they did with small loss. On the same day General Stahl took possession of Thoroughfare Gap, driving out the enemy, and General Pleasanton reached Upperville, and the enemy were driven out of Ashley's Gap. On the 5th, the enemy fell back before the cavalry of Colonel Wyndham, in the direction of Warrenton, which was occupied by the Union forces. The enemy was thus falling back at all points. The fears for Washington subsided, and the exigency under which McClellan had been restored to command having passed, the following order issued; an accompanying order also required General McClellan to report at Trenton, N. J.

"GENERAL ORDERS—No. 182.

“WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL’S OFFICE,
“WASHINGTON, Nov. 5, 1862.

“By direction of the President of the United States, it is ordered that Major-General McClellan be relieved from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and that Major-General Burnside take the command of that army.

"By order of the

SECRETARY OF WAR.

"E. D. TOWNSEND, *Assistant Adjutant General.*"

CHAPTER XXXV.

Burnside in Command.—Change of Plan.—Council of War.—March of Hooker.—Pontoons Delayed.—Plans of Crossing.—Two Attacks.—Franklin's Movement.—Seizure of Fredericksburg.—Summer.—Terrible Slaughter.—Repulse on the Right.—Inaction.—Withdrawal of the Army.—End of Campaign.—Intrigues.—Order No. 8.—Burnside Relieved.

GENERAL BURNSIDE having assumed the command of the army, the plan of operations, under inspirations from Washington, underwent an entire change. Instead of moving by the Gordonsville route, which would have cut the western connections of the Confederate capital, at the same time that it offered an easier line of approach from the North, it was determined to make a direct attack by the way of Fredericksburg. That city is situated on the south side of the Rappahannock, and is connected with Richmond, sixty-five miles distant, by a railroad which has a double track forty-two miles to Hanover junction. Thirty-seven miles from Fredericksburg, the railroad crosses the Mattaponi at Milford, and three miles further the Pamunkey. Thus between Falmouth, on the north bank of the Rappahannock, and Richmond there are two main and two minor lines of defence. The banks of the Rappahannock, above Falmouth, are lined with high hills, which, with the narrow fords and rocky bottoms, make the crossing very difficult for large bodies of troops. Below Falmouth, the river spreads, winding through spacious plains, forming numerous necks of land that command the south bank of each water stretch. In front of Fredericksburg, the northern bank commands the southern shore, which is a plain running back $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, where it rises into a succession of heights, which command the plains to the river. The enemy occupied those heights, and had strongly fortified, taking advantage of every natural means of defence. His position consisted of two lines of

batteries, one a mile in the rear of the other, and both overlooking the city. They extended in a semi-circle, from Port Royal to a point six miles above Fredericksburg. The right, under Jackson, held the line from Port Royal to Genning's Station, on the railroad. Longstreet, in the centre, reached to the Telegraph road; and the left, under Stuart, was west of the Massaponax Creek. The reserves were under A. P. Lee.

This was the position which, in council, by 'Generals Halleck and Meigs, November 12, at the head-quarters of Burnside, it was determined to assail. It was then settled that the line of operations should be transferred from Warrenton to the railroad at Aquia Creek, where supplies could reach by water, and the crossing of the Rappahannock be aided by the gunboats. The necessity of pontoons for crossing was to be met by General Meigs, who undertook to have them on the spot in three days, or by the 15th. Generals Halleck and Meigs left for Washington to perfect their part of the operations, and the army commenced its march early on the 16th. General Sumner led the advance. The whole command underwent reorganization. The second and ninth corps now formed the right grand division, under General E. V. Sumner; the first, Reynolds, and the sixth, Smith, the left grand division, under W. B. Franklin; the third, Sickles, and fifth, Meade, the centre, under Joseph Hooker. The eleventh corps was in reserve, under Sigel. The advance of the army, under Sumner, reached the river on the 21st, and summoned Fredericksburg to surrender, giving, in case of refusal, sixteen hours to remove women and children. The promised pontoons, however, did not make their appearance until the 12th December, or nearly four weeks after the time fixed. Meantime, all hope of surprising the enemy had to be abandoned, and the important question of where and when to cross was debated in council. Several plans were proposed, but General Hooker opposed all that involved a division of the army, and urged that the whole force should cross at the United States ford, twelve miles above. On the arrival of the pontoons, General Burnside, governed by information that the enemy had thrown a force down the river, and by the consequent hope of cutting the enemy's centre, decided to cross in two places; one at

Fredericksburg, and one four miles below. In this view, he detached the corps of Franklin with two divisions of Hooker's corps, altogether fifty to sixty thousand men, to the lower crossing. The orders to Franklin were carried by General Hardie, of Burnside's staff, to the effect that the whole command was to be kept in readiness for a rapid movement down the old Richmond road. To send one division to seize the heights on the north side of the Massaponax, taking care to keep its line of retreat open. Another column was to be sent to seize the heights at the junction of the plank road and the Telegraph road. The whole command to be kept in readiness to march as soon as the fog, with which the day opened, should lift. On Friday, the 12th December, the bridges being laid without much resistance from the enemy, the crossing took place, and the troops occupied Fredericksburg, meeting with little opposition. On the morning of the 13th, the attack on the heights commenced. The right of Franklin rested on the outskirts of the city. The centre was advanced about a mile from the city, and the left rested on the Rappahannock, about three miles below. The attack of Franklin was made by the division of Meade, 4,500 men, supported on its right by that of Gibbon, 5,000, and on the left by Doubleday. Birney's division of Stoneman's corps was formed directly in the rear of Meade. The attack was made with the utmost vigor and skill, but failed, for the reason that the enemy were in much greater force than had been supposed. The whole of Franklin's corps became gradually engaged. Both Meade's and Gibbons' divisions were badly cut up, and the first was replaced by Doubleday. Those of Howe and Brooks held the right, protecting the bridges, and the enemy accumulating force towards 3 o'clock, handled them very severely. The men held their ground with a determination and heroism beyond all praise. The enemy then made a forward movement, under General Hill, and were repulsed with severe loss, but returned upon the left in such force as to threaten its safety. At that time General Burnside sent an order to make a diversion on the right, in favor of General Sumner, who was being severely pressed. It was impossible to comply with this order, since it was all that Franklin could do to hold his own, until nightfall.

Meanwhile the right wing of the army became engaged. The bridges in front of Fredericksburg were finally completed in the afternoon of the 11th. The troops commenced immediately to cross, and before nightfall Sumner's division, with a portion of Hooker's, had crossed with blankets and rations for three days. Early in the morning of the 12th the crossing continued. The Confederate forces occupied the woods and hills in rear of the city, in a very strong position, and at 10 o'clock the division of French, supported by that of Howard, was ordered to drive out the Confederates at the point of the bayonet. A stonewall ran across the plain in front of the ridge held by the enemy. The line being formed, they advanced steadily until close to the wall, when there poured forth from it a murderous fire, which threw the column into some confusion, and it retired to the cover of a ravine. It was here reformed upon its supports, and again advanced at the double-quick, but the space which it was obliged to cross to reach the stonewall, was now swept by a terrific fire of musketry and artillery, which thinned the ranks with fearful rapidity, and finally its centre broke and retired. With marvellous determination the line again formed, and again the storm of shot swept through it. Steadily the ranks closed up on the centre and pressed on, but the line visibly shrunk up as it advanced, and for the third time its shattered ranks recoiled before that volcano. Sumner then ordered up his artillery to play upon the stronghold, and the fire, without much effect, was continued until dark.

Meantime Hooker, in the centre, had opened the attack with artillery upon the works of the enemy, which was replied to as long as the fog lasted with little or no effect on either side. At noon an attempt was made to carry the works by assault, with the same results as those which attended Sumner's movement. The attempt was repeated in the afternoon with no better success. At dark the firing ceased on both sides. Early on the morning of the 14th, General Burnside sent the following despatch to the President:—

"I have just returned from the field. Our troops are all over the river, and hold the first ridge outside the town and three miles below. We hope to carry the crest to-day. Our loss is heavy, say five thousand.

"A. E. BURNSIDE. *Major-General.*"

The army remained quiet during the 14th, and both armies continued so on the 15th, on the night of which General Burnside withdrew his army to the north side, and took up the bridges. The enemy, fortunately, did not perceive the movement until it was too late to do much damage. General Burnside then sent the following message to Washington :

"The army was withdrawn to this side of the river, because I felt the position in front could not be carried, and it was a military necessity either to attack or retire. A repulse would have been disastrous to us. The army was withdrawn at night, without the knowledge of the enemy, and without loss of either property or men.
"A. E. BURNSIDE, *Major-General*."

The federal loss was reported at 12,321. The Confederates loss was comparatively small, inasmuch as they were under cover.

Thus ended the third campaign against Richmond. The blame of the failure was apparent to the public mind. General Burnside however published a statement taking the blame upon himself, and exonerating the authorities at Washington. The matter became afterwards the subject of investigation, and General Franklin, who with his corps had sustained a most heroic fight, was dismissed the service, while General Burnside was transferred to the command of the Ohio district. The evidence given before the committee, in relation to the delay of the pontoons, was as follows :—

General Woodbury stated that he received that order on the morning of the 13th of November. He testifies:

"General Halleck's order to me of the 13th, made it apparent that the army was preparing to march to Fredericksburg. As to the time when the movement would be made, I never received any information. Fearing, however, that the movement would be precipitate, I went to General Halleck's office, and urged him to delay the movement some five days, in order that the necessary preparations might be made to insure success. To this he replied that he would do nothing to delay for an instant the advance of the army on Richmond. I rejoined that my suggestion was not intended to cause delay, but rather to prevent it. In making this suggestion I had reference not only to the pontoon train, but the landings still to be created for the quartermaster and commissary departments."

General Halleck testifies:

"I will state that all the troops in Washington and its vicinity were under the command of General McClellan when he was relieved, and

he issued his orders directly to the commanding officer of Washington, with one single restriction: that no troops should be moved from the command of Washington until I was notified by General McClellan or the commanding officer here. In all other respects they were all under his direction. General Burnside, when he relieved him, was told that they remained precisely the same as before. On my visit to General Burnside, at Warrenton, on the 12th of November, in speaking about the boats and things that he required from here, I repeated to him that they were all subject to his orders with that single exception. To prevent the necessity of the commanding officer here reporting the order for the boats here, the order was drawn up upon his table, and signed by me, directly to General Woodbury, on the evening of the 12th, I think—the evening that I was there. I saw General Woodbury on my return, and he told me he had received the order. I told him that in all these matters he was under General Burnside's direction. I had nothing farther to give him, except to communicate that order to him. In conversation with him and General Meigs, it was proposed that the train of pontoons should go down by land, as they could be gotten down sooner in that way, without interfering with the supplies which had to be sent to Aquia Creek. I gave no other order or direction in relation to the matter than that all other matters were under General Burnside's direction. He also informed me, while at Warrenton, that Captain Duane, chief of the engineers, had also sent an order to Harper's Ferry for the pontoon train there to go down. The order had been issued. They being under General Burnside's immediate and direct command, I did not interfere at all in relation to them.

Question. Do you know whether there was any delay in starting them, or in their progress there?

Answer. I heard that there was a delay from the steamer's getting a ground with the pontoons, and there was a delay, as I understood, in the train going down by land, on account of the difficulty of the roads, and the inexperience, perhaps, of the officers in command, and it had to be taken by water part of the way; it could not get through by land. I considered, from the reports I received, that these delays resulted mainly from accident and the elements, that no man had any control over. General Burnside telegraphed to me in relation to General Woodbury, thinking that he had not used due diligence; but afterwards told me he was perfectly satisfied with what General Woodbury had done, and that he did not know but what the commanding officer of the train that went down had done his duty also; that he was disposed to make no further investigation of that matter; that he was pretty well satisfied.

Question. Was there any request for you to delay the advance of the men until the boats arrived, or any thing of that kind?

Answer. No, Sir. I remember this, that General Woodbury, in conversation with me, said that General Burnside could not get down for several days after I told him; and that he could not land the boats until General Burnside arrived; I think I remarked to him that I did not know exactly the day when General Burnside would move; but I could not tell him, as the general did not know himself. While I was at Warrenton he proposed this movement, and he was directed

to make all preparations for it, but not to begin it until the President was consulted. I returned on the afternoon of the 13th, and I think, on the morning of the 14th, I had an interview with the President, in which he consented to General Burnside's plans, and I immediately telegraphed to him to go ahead as he had proposed. I understood that there was considerable delay in getting the boats from Aquia down to the Rappahannock river, on account of the bad roads, difficulty of transportation, &c., but no other delay than that which would naturally occur over a rough country like that; and accidental delay in laying the bridges was reported to me, from the experience of the pontoniers, who laid the upper bridges; there was considerable delay in that. We could not commence the repair of the railroad until General Burnside took possession of it, as it was all in the possession of the enemy. That was understood between him and General Haupt, in my presence. General Haupt, went out with me to make the arrangement for repairing the roads as early as possible. I remember the conversation; he could not land any thing, but would have every thing down ready as soon as he could, and when he found General Burnside was in possession, he would commence."

Soon after the battle of Fredericksburg, General Burnside devised a new plan, for attacking the enemy in his front. In connection with the plan a cavalry raid was projected. A force of 2,500 men was to proceed to Kelley's Ford, when 1000 were to cross and destroy the bridges over the Rapidan, and continue through to Suffolk, blowing up and destroying bridges on the route. The other 1,500 men were to proceed in different directions to distract the attention of the enemy, while a general movement was to be made across the river. On the 26th of December, an order was issued for the men to take three days' cooked rations, and ten days' rations in wagons, and be ready to move at twelve hours' notice.

At this time occurred a remarkable intrigue, which is best given in the words of the committee:

"Shortly after that order was issued, General John Newton and General John Cochrane—the one commanding a division and the other a brigade, in the left grand division, under General William B. Franklin, came up to Washington on leave of absence. Previous to obtaining leave of absence from General Franklin, they informed him and General William F. Smith, that when they came to Washington they should take the opportunity to represent to some one in authority here, the dispirited condition of the army, and the danger there was in attempting any movement against the enemy at that time."

"When they reached Washington, General Cochrane, as

he states, endeavored to find certain members of Congress, to whom to make the desired communication. Failing to find them, he determined to seek an interview with the President for the purpose of making the communication directly to him. On proceeding to the President's house, he there met Secretary Seward, to whom he explained the object of his being there, and the general purport of his proposed communication to the President, and requested him to procure an interview for them, which Mr. Seward promised to do, and which he did do.

"That day the interview took place; and General Newton opened the subject to the President. At first the President, as General Newton expresses it, 'very naturally conceived that they had come there for the purpose of injuring General Burnside, and suggesting some other person to fill his place.' General Newton states, that while he firmly believed that the principal cause of the dispirited condition of the army was the want of confidence in the military capacity of General Burnside, he deemed it improper to say so to the President 'right square out,' and therefore endeavored to convey the same idea indirectly. When asked if he considered it any less improper to do such a thing indirectly than it was to do it directly, he qualified his previous assertion by saying that his object was to inform the President of what he considered to be the condition of the army, in the hope that the President would make inquiry and learn the true cause for himself. Upon perceiving this impression upon the mind of the President, Generals Newton and Cochrane state that they hastened to assure the President that he was entirely mistaken, and so far succeeded that at the close of the interview the President said to them he was glad they had called upon him, and that he hoped that good would result from the interview."

To return to General Burnside. The cavalry expedition had started; the brigade of infantry detailed to accompany it had crossed the Rappahannock at Richards' Ford, and returned by way of Ellis's Ford, leaving the way clear for the cavalry to cross at Kelly's Ford. The day they had arranged to make the crossing, General Burnside received from the President the following telegram:

"I have good reason for saying that you must not make a general movement without letting me know of it."

General Burnside states that he could not imagine at the time what reason the President could have for sending him such a telegram. None of the officers of his command, except one or two of his staff who had remained in camp, had been told any thing of his plan beyond the simple fact that a movement was to be made. He could only suppose that the despatch related in some way to important military movements in other parts of the country, in which it was necessary to have co-operation.

Upon the receipt of that telegram, steps were immediately taken to halt the cavalry expedition where it then was (at Kelly's Ford) until further orders. A portion of it was shortly afterwards sent off to intercept Stuart, who had just made a raid to Dumfries and the neighborhood of Fairfax Court-House, which it failed to do.

General Burnside came to Washington to ascertain from the President the true state of the case. He was informed by the President that some general officers from the Army of the Potomac, whose names he declined to give, had called upon him and represented that General Burnside contemplated soon making a movement, and that the army was so dispirited and demoralized, that any attempt to make a movement at that time must result in disaster; that no prominent officers in the Army of the Potomac were in favor of any movement at that time.

General Burnside informed the President that none of his officers had been informed what his plan was, and then proceeded to explain it in detail to the President. He urged upon the President to grant him permission to carry it out; but the President declined to do so at that time. General Halleck and Secretary Stanton were sent for, and then learned, for the first time, of the President's action in stopping the movement; although General Halleck was previously aware that a movement was contemplated by General Burnside. General Halleck, with General Burnside, held that the officers who had made these representations to the President, should be at once dismissed the service. General Burnside remained here at that time for two days, but no conclusion was reached upon the subject.

When he returned to his camp he learned that many of the details of the general movement, and the details of the cavalry expedition, had become known to the rebel

sympathizers in Washington, thereby rendering that plan impracticable. When asked to whom he had communicated his plans, he stated that he had told no one in Washington, except the President, Secretary Stanton, and General Halleck; and in his camp none knew of it, except one or two of his staff officers, who remained in camp all the time. He professed himself unable to tell how his plans had become known to the enemy.

General Burnside then devised a new plan, but he stated that he was obliged to abandon it because of the opposition of his officers. He then issued Order No. 8, which dismissed all his general officers, including General Hooker, from the service, subject to the approval of the President. The publication of the order was delayed until General Burnside went to Washington and laid it before the President. The President, as affirmed by the Senate Committee, approved the order, but declined to act upon it until he had consulted his advisers. After doing so, he relieved Burnside from the command of the Army of the Potomac, and appointed General Hooker in his place. Thereupon General Burnside insisted that his resignation be accepted. This the President declined to do; and, after some urging, General Burnside consented to take a leave of absence for thirty days, with the understanding that at the end of that time he should be assigned to duty, as he deemed it improper to hold a commission as major-general, and receive his pay without rendering service therefor. In the words of the committee, General Burnside objected to the wording of the order which relieved him from his command, and which stated that it was "at his own request," as being unjust to him and unfounded in fact; but upon the representation that any other order would do injury to the cause, he consented to let it remain as it then read.

Generals Franklin and Sumner were dismissed the service. General W. B. Franklin, on being dismissed the service, published a defence, in which he made the following statement, which has never been denied:

It is a part of the history of the times, that after the failure of his (General Burnside's) attempt upon the rebel army behind the heights of Fredericksburg, he addressed a letter to General Halleck, relieving the secretary of war and the general-in-chief from all responsibility of that

movement; and it is equally true, though not so publicly known, that shortly after that letter was published General Burnside made quite as formal and earnest a request to the President to remove the secretary of war and the general-in-chief from the positions severally occupied by them, as he did to dismiss certain of his officers in the Army of the Potomac. If it was true that the movement was his own, it was but an act of common justice to assume its responsibility. Meantime General Joseph Hooker entered upon the command of the army.



CAPT. R. SEMMES.



MAJ. GEN. PEMBERTON



MAJ. JOHN MORGAN.



MAJ. GEN. EWELL



MAJ. GEN. LONGSTREET.



GEN. A. P. HILL



GENERAL STUART



GEN. VANDORN



MAJ. GEN. WM. T. H. SIMPSON



GENL. WISE



MAJ. GEN. KIRBY SMITH.



GEN. EDW. PRICE

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Situation in Kentucky.—Confederate Advance.—Proclamation of Governor Robinson.—General Smith at Lexington.—Proclamation.—Bragg crosses the Tennessee.—His Address.—Mumfordsville.—Confederate Inauguration.—Panic at Cincinnati.—Buell's Retreat.—Army Reorganized.—Buell's Advance.—Smith leaves Frankfort.—Retreat.—Perrysville.—Junction of the Enemy's Troops.—Features of Campaign.

ON the retreat of Beauregard's forces from Corinth, the main body, under Bragg, fell back upon Tupello, Mississippi. General E. Kirby Smith was at Chattanooga, and there was also a force at Knoxville. These drew their supplies mainly over the railroad from Atlanta, Georgia. At the same time Grant held the line of West Tennessee, from Iuka to Memphis. General Buell remained at Corinth, holding the Memphis and Charleston railroad from that point to Chattanooga, and extending south-east to Stevenson. General Mitchel was at Huntsville. General Rosecrans was in command of Pope's old troops. Early in June the guerillas became very active in the lower counties of Kentucky, under Colonel John Morgan. On the 10th of June, General Buell left Corinth, in the direction of Chattanooga, and took positions at Battle Creek, Huntsville and McMinnsville. In the mean time, General Bragg had suddenly broken up his camp, and by forced marches through Alabama and Georgia, had reached Chattanooga, in advance of Buell. His force was then composed of three corps, of 15,000 men each, under Generals J. Hardee, Leonidas Polk, and E. Kirby Smith at Knoxville. These forces were occupied in preparations for an advance, while Morgan was very active with his guerillas, in the hope that the people of Kentucky would rise. On the 5th of July, Lebanon, at the termination of the Nashville and Louisville railroad, was taken. Murfreesboro, in Tennessee, was captured at the same time by a guerilla force under Colonel Forest, who captured a Michigan

brigade, with Generals Duffield and Crittenden, of Indiana. A Federal force at Cynthiana was defeated by Morgan, and Henderson occupied. Clarksville was captured, with large military stores, and a Federal force at Gallatin repulsed. At this time, August 22d, E. Kirby Smith, with a considerable force, broke camp from Knoxville, passed the Big Creek Gap, and marched upon Richmond, Kentucky. That place is the capital of Madison county, and is fifty miles south-east of Frankfort. A Federal force held the place. It was composed of nine regiments, with nine guns, and a squadron of Kentucky horse, under Generals Manson and Crufts. This force attacked Smith four miles south of Richmond, and was entirely defeated, with the loss of its artillery. As the retreat began, General Nelson, who had arrived from Lexington, endeavored to rally them, but he was wounded, and obliged to retire. This defeat uncovered the State capital to the enemy's advance. The legislature was then in session, and immediately adjourned to Louisville, carrying the archives of the State and the treasure of the banks. The governor, James F. Robinson, issued a proclamation, calling upon all citizens to rally to the defence of the State.

Smith's advance guard entered Lexington on the 2d of September. He at once issued a proclamation, to the effect that the Confederate army had come as liberators; and to invite the citizens of Kentucky to join in driving out the invading Federal force. The capital of the State was occupied September 6th, a government organized, and recruiting stations opened. In the mean time, General Buell, near Chattanooga, was compelled to draw his supplies from Louisville, over the railroad. Smith's advance had turned his left, and he fell back on Lebanon in that direction, supposing that Bragg would move on Nashville. It appeared, however, that was not the Confederate plan. Bragg with thirty-six regiments of infantry, five of horse, and forty guns, crossed the Tennessee on the 21st of August, and, turning Buell's left, marched westward to Dunlop, which he reached on the 27th, and proceeded to Pikeville on the 30th. On the 5th of September the force occupied Bowling Green, on the line of the Nashville and Louisville railroad, and pushed on to Munfordsville, which was held by Colonel Wilder with 3,000 men, and four guns. They were attacked on the

13th by the Confederates under General Duncan, and repulsed them, after seven hours' struggle. On the following day the place was reinforced by a regiment under Colonel Dunham, who assumed command. The Confederates renewed the attack on the 16th. When the Federal force, comprising the seventeenth, sixtieth, sixty-seventh, sixty-eighth, and sixty-ninth Indiana, the fourth Ohio, thirteen Indiana battery, and a company of Louisville cavalry, amounting in all to 4,500 men, and ten guns, surrendered. On the 18th, General Bragg issued an address to the people, dated at Glasgow, in which he reiterated the expressions uttered by Kirby Smith, stating, also, that he required supplies, that would be paid for. The Confederate force now moved in a direction to form a junction with Kirby Smith, Humphrey Marshall, and Morgan, apparently to make a combined attack upon Louisville. From Bardstown General Bragg issued the following address to the people of the Northwest. The object was to open separate negotiations for peace, with the people of that section, as explained in the tenor of the document:

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH-WEST.

HEAD-QUARTERS C. S. ARMY IN KENTUCKY,
BARDSTOWN, KY., *September 26, 1862.*

On approaching your borders at the head of a Confederate army, it is proper to announce to you the motives and the purposes of my presence. I therefore make known to you:

1. That the Confederate government is waging this war solely for self-defence; that it has no designs of conquest, nor any other purpose, than to secure peace, and the abandonment by the United States of its pretensions to govern a people who never have been their subjects, and who prefer self-government to a union with them.

2. That the Confederate government and people, deprecating civil strife from the beginning, are anxious for a peaceful adjustment of all differences growing out of a political separation, which they deemed essential to their happiness and well-being, at the moment of its inauguration, sent commissioners to Washington to treat for these objects, but that their commissioners were not received or even allowed to communicate the object of their mission; and that on a subsequent occasion a communication from the President of the Confederate States to President Lincoln remained without answer, although a reply was promised by General Scott, into whose hands the communication was delivered.

3. That among the pretexts urged for the continuance of the war, is the assertion that the Confederate government desires to deprive

the United States of the free navigation of the Western rivers, although the truth is that the Confederate Congress, by public act, prior to the commencement of the war, enacted that "the peaceful navigation of the Mississippi river is hereby declared free to the citizens of any of the States upon its border, or upon the borders of its tributaries"—a declaration to which our government has always been, and is still ready to adhere.

From these declarations, people of the north-west, it is made manifest, that by the invasion of our territories by land and from sea, we have been unwillingly forced into a war for self-defence, and to vindicate a great principle once dear to all Americans, to wit: that no people can be rightly governed except by their own consent. We desire peace now. We desire to see a stop put to a useless and cruel effusion of blood, and that waste of national wealth, rapidly leading to, and sure to end in, national bankruptcy. We are, therefore, now, as ever, ready to treat with the United States, or any one or more of them, upon terms of mutual justice and liberality. And at this juncture, when our arms have been successful on many hard-fought fields; when our people have exhibited a constancy, a fortitude, and a courage worthy of the boon of self-government—we restrict ourselves to the same moderate demand that we made at the darkest period of our reverses—the demand that the people of the United States cease to war upon us, and permit us in peace to pursue our path to happiness, while they, in peace, pursue theirs.

We are, however, debarred from the renewal of former proposals for peace, because the relentless spirit that actuates the government at Washington leaves us no reason to expect that they would be received with the respect naturally due by nations in their intercourse, whether in peace or war. It is under these circumstances that we are driven to protect our own country by transferring the seat of war to that of an enemy who pursues us with an implacable and apparently aimless hostility. If the war must continue, its theatre must be changed, and with it the policy that has heretofore kept us on the defensive on our own soil. So far, it is only our fields that have been laid waste, our people killed, our homes made desolate, and our frontiers ravaged by rapine and murder. The sacred right of self-defence demands that henceforth some of the consequences of the war shall fall upon those who persist in their refusal to make peace. With the people of the North-west rests the power to put an end to the invasion of their homes; for, if unable to prevail upon the government of the United States to conclude a general peace, their own State governments, in the exercise of their sovereignty, can secure immunity from the desolating effects of warfare on their soil, by a separate treaty of peace, which our government will be ready to conclude on the most just and liberal basis.

The responsibility then rests with you, the people of the North-west, of continuing an unjust and aggressive warfare upon the people of the Confederate States. And in the name of reason and humanity, I call upon you to pause and reflect what cause of quarrel so bloody have you against these States, and what are you to gain by it? Nature has set her seal upon these States, and marked them out to be

your friends and allies. She has bound them to you by all the ties of geographical contiguity and conformation, and the great mutual interests of commerce and productions. When the passions of this unnatural war shall have subsided, and reason resumes her sway, a community of interest will force commercial and social coalition between the great grain and stock-growing States of the North-west, and the cotton, tobacco, and sugar regions of the South. The Mississippi river is a grand artery of their mutual national lives, which men cannot sever, and which never ought to have been suffered to be disturbed by the antagonisms, the cupidity, and the bigotry of New England and the East. It is from the East that have come the germs of this bloody and most unnatural strife. It is from the meddlesome, grasping, and fanatical disposition of the same people who have imposed upon you and us alike those tariffs, internal improvement, and fishing bounty laws, whereby we have been taxed for their aggrandizement. It is from the East that will come the tax-gatherer to collect from you the mighty debt which is being amassed mountain high for the purpose of ruining your best customers and natural friends. When this war ends, the same antagonisms of interest, policy, and feeling, which have been pressed upon us by the East, and forced us from a political union where we had ceased to find safety for our interests, or respect for our rights, will bear down upon you, and separate you from a people whose traditional policy it is to live by their wits upon the labor of their neighbors. Meantime, you are being used by them to fight the battle of emancipation, a battle which, if successful, destroys our prosperity, and with it your best markets to buy and sell. Our mutual dependence is the work of the Creator. With our peculiar productions, convertible into gold, we should, in a state of peace, draw from you largely the products of your labor. In us, of the South, you will find rich and willing customers. In the East you must confront rivals in productions and trade, and the tax-gatherer in all the forms of partial legislation. You are blindly following abolitionism to this end, while they are nicely calculating the gain of obtaining your trade on terms that would impoverish your country. You say you are fighting for the free navigation of the Mississippi. It is yours freely, and has always been, without striking a blow. You say you are fighting to maintain the Union. That Union is a thing of the past. A Union of consent was the only Union ever worth a drop of blood. When force came to be substituted for consent, the casket was broken, and the constitutional jewel of your patriotic adoration was forever gone.

I come then to you with the olive-branch of peace, and offer it to your acceptance, in the name of memories of the past, and the ties of present and future. With you remain the responsibility and the option of continuing a cruel and wasting war, which can only end after still greater sacrifices in such treaty of peace as we now offer; or of preserving the blessings of peace by the simple abandonment of the design of subjugating a people over whom no right of dominion has been conferred on you by God or man.

BRAXTON BRAGG, *General C. S. Army.*

A few days after the issuing of this address 'the

ceremony of inaugurating the provisional governor of Kentucky, Richard Harris, was gone through at Lexington, all the leading Confederate generals being present. General Bragg had issued an order, providing for the great event, as follows:

HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF KENTUCKY,
LEXINGTON, *October 2, 1862.*

Installation of the provisional governor at Frankfort, on Saturday, October 4, at 12 o'clock, M. Major-General Smith is charged with the management of the military and escort guard and salute. The governor will be escorted from his quarters by a squadron of cavalry, and accompanied by the commander of the Confederate States forces, Major-General Buckner, Brigadier-General Preston, and their respective staffs. The commanding general will present the governor to the people, and transfer, in behalf of the Confederate States, the civil orders of the State and public records and property.

By order,
BRAXTON BRAGG, *General Commanding.*

While these events were transpiring, the utmost consternation had prevailed in Cincinnati. Fearing an invasion, business was suspended, cars stopped running, and General Lewis Wallace proclaimed martial law, as follows:

CINCINNATI, *September 2, 1862.*

The undersigned, by order of Major-General Wright, assumes command of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport.

It is but fair to inform our citizens that an active, daring, and powerful enemy threatens them with every consequence of war; yet the cities must be defended, and the inhabitants assist in the preparations.

First.—All business must be suspended at nine o'clock to-day. Every business house must be closed.

Second.—Under the direction of the mayor, the citizens must, within an hour after the suspension of business, assemble in convenient public places, ready for orders, and as soon as possible they will then be assigned to their work.

This labor ought to be one of love; and the undersigned trusts and believes that it will be so. Anyhow, it must be done. The willing shall be promptly credited; the unwilling promptly visited.

The principle adopted is:—"Citizens for the labor; soldiers for the battle."

Martial law is hereby proclaimed in the three cities. Until they can be relieved by the military, the injunctions of this proclamation will be executed by the police.

Third.—Ferry-boats will cease plying the river after four o'clock in the morning, until further orders.

LEWIS WALLACE, *Major-General Commanding.*

PROCLAMATION OF THE MAYOR.

In accordance with the proclamation of Major-General Wallace, I give the public notice that the police force will, until farther orders, act as a provost guard; and I order and enjoin upon all good citizens to respect and obey them.

All orders from the general commanding, through the police, will be enforced strictly.

GEORGE HATCH, *Mayor*.

CLOSING LIQUOR STORES.

GENERAL ORDER—NO. 1.

HEAD-QUARTERS, UNITED STATES FORCES,
CINCINNATI, *September 2, 1862.*

All places in the cities of Cincinnati, Covington and Newport, where liquors of any kind are sold, must be closed at four o'clock this morning; and all soldiers are directed, upon any failure or refusal to obey this order, to seize the stock on hand, that it may be confiscated for sanitary purposes.

By order of Major-General LEWIS WALLACE.

H. ELSTON, jr., *Aid-de-Camp and Chief of Staff.*

The utmost efforts were made to place Cincinnati in a state of defence, and works for this purpose were formed in Kentucky, on the south bank of the river. General Buell arrived at Nashville on the 2d September, to consult General Rousseau, then in command, and enforced martial law with the utmost vigor. General Nelson, who had been defeated and wounded near Lexington, retired to Louisville, where he exerted himself with great success in organizing a fresh force. The scattered forces of Buell fell back before the enemy, and, on the 25th September, filed into Louisville, dispirited, footsore, and weary. The whole command, numbering above thirty-five thousand, were marched to the river shores above the city, where they were temporarily encamped. A pontoon bridge thrown over the river to Jeffersonville, carried them to the north bank, where the bulk of the army of the Ohio reposed on the Indiana shore. While General Nelson was receiving and providing for these men, and reorganizing new corps, he was murdered in his hotel by General Jefferson C. Davis, in some personal dispute. Davis had been one of the defenders of Fort Sumter. General Buell arrived in Louisville October 1, and took command.

A day or two after his arrival, an order was received from General Halleck, directing a fusion and reorgani-

zation of the armies of Ohio and Kentucky. He was about carrying this order out, when Colonel McKibben, of General Halleck's staff, arrived from Washington with an order directing General Buell to turn over the chief command to Major-General Thomas, and assume command of the paroled prisoners and camp of instruction at Indianapolis. General Thomas immediately telegraphed to Washington, asking for the reinstatement of General Buell, as better fitted than himself. Generals Crittenden, Rousseau, Jackson, and Boyle, and one or two others, also sent remonstrances, and, in consequence, the order was rescinded, and General Buell restored. On General Buell's restoration, the work of reorganization was completed. One regiment of new troops was attached to each brigade. The army of Ohio divided into three army corps—named first, second, and third—of three divisions, with proper complements of cavalry and artillery. Each division had three brigades, except Jackson's, which had two. Some of the brigades, had four, and some five regiments. The seventh and eighth divisions were at Nashville. The tenth and eleventh remained at Louisville, with reserves under Boyle. The brigades averaged fully 2,500 men, giving a total infantry force for twenty-six brigades of nearly 70,000 men. Of artillery, there was one battery attached to each brigade, giving twenty-six batteries, with a total of 160 guns. Of cavalry, each corps had a small complement attached, while the main body of mounted troops operated in three independent brigades, representing an effective total of about 6,000 men, and commanded by Acting-Brigadiers McCook, Zahm, and Gay.

Beside the nine divisions of the three corps, a tenth, unattached, under the command of General Dumont, was employed in the rear of the main army, for the protection of its lines of communication. It was about 10,000 strong, including one regiment of cavalry, and some batteries.

It thus appears that General Buell entered upon the campaign with an infantry and cavalry force at least one-third stronger than that of the enemy, and with double his strength in artillery.

The Confederate troops were now scattered through Scott, Woodford, Franklin, Spencer, Anderson, Boyers, and Boyce counties, and busily engaged in foraging and

recruiting. No body of any considerable strength has been within two days' march of Louisville.

The following was the army organization of the forces in Kentucky :

DEPARTMENT OF THE OHIO.

Commander-in-Chief—Major-General D. C. Buell.

Commander in the Field—Major-General George W. Thomas.

CORPS D'ARMÉE.

First corps d'armée—right wing—Major-General Alexander McDowell McCook.

Second corps d'armée—left wing—Major-General Thos. L. Crittenden.

Third corps d'armée—centre—Major-General C. C. Gilbert.

DIVISION COMMANDERS.

Third corps, first division—Brigadier-General Albion Schoepff; first corps, second division, Brigadier-General Sill; First corps, third division, Brigadier-General Lovell Rousseau; second corps, fourth division, Brigadier-General W. L. Smith; second corps, fifth division, Brigadier-General Van Cleve; second corps, sixth division, Brigadier-General W. Wood; seventh division, Brigadier-General George W. Morgan; eighth division, Brigadier-General James L. Negley; first corps ninth division, Brigadier-General Jackson; third corps, tenth division, Major-General Granger; third corps, eleventh division, Brigadier-General Sheridan; third corps, twelfth division, Brigadier-General E. Dumont; third corps, thirteenth division, Brigadier-General Robert B. Mitchell.

The enemy gathered an immense booty in cattle and supplies, as well as munitions. Some 700 wagons, left behind by Buell at Bowling Green, were captured, with all their contents, clothing, tents, arms, &c. The whole territory between Louisville and Nashville and Cumberland Gap, had been overrun by him.

There was little delay in the movement of the army when Buell had been restored. The main force of the enemy, about 40,000, under Bragg, was encamped in the neighborhood of Bardstown, forty miles south of Louisville. Kirby Smith, with 15,000, was between Frankfort and Lexington. Humphrey Marshall, with 4,000, was

at Georgetown. In central Kentucky two bodies of guerrillas, under Morgan and Scott, were collecting food and munitions. There were further three camps of rendezvous for two or three thousand men, recruited since the advent of Kirby Smith—one near Lexington, another at Camp Dick Robinson, and the third at Bryantsville. The new levies were well armed with the pieces captured from our troops at Richmond, but were only indifferently drilled and disciplined. Upon the whole, the aggregate effective strength of the enemy was hardly sixty thousand, inclusive of about five thousand cavalry and ninety pieces of artillery. If united, this would have formed a formidable force; but the several portions being separated from each other, its momentum was greatly weakened.

These being the general positions, the army of Buell moved over four different roads, as follows: Of the first corps, the second division, under General Sill, took the direct road from Louisville to Frankfort, *via* Shelbyville; the third, General Rousseau, and tenth, General Jackson, of the same corps, under the immediate command of Major-General McCook, followed the road from Louisville to Taylorsville. The second corps, consisting of the divisions of Generals Wood, Vancleve, and Smith, moved upon Bardstown, over the direct road from Louisville. The third corps, composed of the divisions of Generals Schoepff, Mitchell, and Sheridan, marched also upon Bardstown, but by a detour *via* Sheppardsville. General Dumont's division started in the wake of General Sill's, three days after the latter had left Louisville.

The general plan was to separate Smith and Marshall from Bragg by the movement of the first corps, while Bragg should be attacked with the two other corps at Bardstown, where it was expected he would give battle, and where, if the movement was successful, his flank and rear would be turned. The movement was made with great celerity in four columns. Although the first division, under Sill, had the longest route, it moved the quickest, and reached Frankfort on the 4th, on which day McCook was at Taylorsville. On the same day the Confederate generals were all at Frankfort, attending the inauguration of the governor. On the evening of the same day, Smith commenced to evacuate Frankfort, taking with him his immense material and spoil, and proceeding *via* Ver-

sailles and Salvisa on Harrodsburg. The retreat from Bardstown commenced on the 3d, and was completed on the morning of the 4th, on which day the place was entered by Crittenden's corps. Thus the hope of meeting General Bragg's army at Bardstown vanished. The Confederates retreated through Springfield upon Perrysville. They were followed on the 5th by Gilbert's corps, with Crittenden in his rear. On the 6th, the enemy having effected a junction of their forces, were already in possession of Harrodsburg, which was the point of rendezvous for the two bodies of McCook's corps. The hope of dividing the enemy, equally with that of forcing a fight at Bardstown, proved fallacious. General Bragg was, however, under a delusion in relation to their pursuit. He was impressed with the idea that he had only Gilbert's corps on his hands, and that it was by that body only that Hardee had been pressed in his retreat from Bardstown, while he supposed Sill's division on Smith's rear to be the main Federal force. He therefore rallied three divisions, under General Polk, to give battle at Harrodsburg, and another corps of three divisions he sent to aid Smith against Sill. Thus Buell sent two corps against one of Bragg's, and the latter sent two corps against one of Buell's. The corps of Gilbert, which had arrived by the Springfield road, had orders to form within three miles of Perrysville, astride of the Springfield road. Crittenden's corps formed with its left on Gilbert's and its right on the Haysville road. McCook's divisions, as they arrived from the Mackville road, formed on the left of Gilbert. Their line extended beyond the Mackville road. The three divisions of Hardee formed on the morning of the 8th, their left on the heights overlooking Perryville, and their left at Chaplin river, which they commanded. This brought the enemy's right nearer to Buell's left than was his left to Buell's right. In other words, McCook was nearer to his line than was Gilbert. McCook's divisions got into line by 2 p. m., but General Buell postponed his attack until the next day, not dreaming of being himself attacked. General Bragg, however, still under the impression that he had but one corps before him, but ascertaining that it was receiving reinforcements, ordered a vigorous attack. In accordance with these orders the enemy fell with great fury upon McCook's men, mostly

new levies, soon after they were got into line. These were five brigades—Starkweather's brigade on the extreme left; Terrell's in front, and to the right of it, in the left centre; Harris's in the right centre; Webster's in the rear of Harris's, in the position of a reserve; Lytle's on the right of Harris, as the extreme right of the line. Six batteries were distributed at suitable points along the line. The fighting strength of McCook's command was about 11,500, of which Rousseau had seven, and Jackson the remainder. Starkweather and Terrell encountered the first burst of the storm from overwhelming numbers—more than three to one. General Jackson fell at the first fire. The troops soon gave way in confusion, and were driven from the field with the loss of eight guns. The stubborn fighting of Rousseau's veterans saved the line from disaster, and ultimately saved the day. Starkweather, with three regiments and two batteries, withstood the utmost efforts of the enemy to move him, until his ammunition failing, he was forced to fall back for a supply, which, having obtained, he kept his ground until dark. The same circumstance attended Harris, on the right centre. When their ammunition gave out, they had orders to fall back in line with Starkweather. Lytle's, on the extreme right, was not so fortunate. It fought with great valor and success until 4 p. m., when it was turned on the right by fresh troops, and compelled to retire. At this moment McCook arrived from head-quarters, and ordered Webster to support Lytle. In doing so, Webster was killed, and his men being new troops, got into disorder, and the enemy pressed his advantage. Gooding's brigade arrived on the ground at this juncture, followed by Steadman, and these fresh troops, after a severe struggle, forced back the enemy, and the firing ceased for the day. Thus two divisions of McCook's, and two of Gilbert's, fought the battle of the day.

The three divisions sent by Bragg to aid Smith against Sill, did not come up with the latter, because he had, instead of pressing the pursuit of Smith, turned off from Launenburg, in a westerly direction, to Chaplin. It was important to rejoin those divisions with Smith. Accordingly, in the night, Bragg moved from Perryville, in a easterly direction, ten miles to Harrodsburg, which they reached on the 9th. Smith and the division arrived on

the 10th. On the 11th, the entire united force moved to Bryantsville and camp Dick Robinson; thus, having moved twenty-two miles in four days after the battle. He then, with all the vast stores he had collected, resumed his march for the Cumberland Gap, to leave the State. The movement of Buell was very slow. It was not until the evening of the 12th October that he reached Harrodsburg, and on the 14th the pursuit was renewed. The three corps moved, by parallel roads, to Danville, which they reached on the same day, on which Bragg was at Mount Vernon with his trains, beyond Rockcastle river, and pursuit was hopeless.

The general result of the whole movement was, that the Confederate campaign had been profitable to them in spoils, and that it left Buell with the Union army in about the same position it had occupied the year previous. The loss of the enemy in all the encounters had been 5,200 men, and the federal loss 12,600, including 4,000 killed, wounded, and captured at Perryville. At Richmond and Munfordsville they had captured 10,000 choice arms, and thirty-four guns. They gathered, also, thousands of mules, cattle, hogs, wagons, and millions of dollars worth of clothing, boots, shoes, forage, provisions, besides 2,600 barrels of pork, and 2,000 bushels of wheat, left at Camp Dick Robinson for want of transportation. The wagon train of supplies brought out of Kentucky, was described as forty miles long. Their great success was due to the singular audacity of Bragg in venturing within the grasp of Buell's army, with half his strength, and from which he escaped by a combination of fortunate circumstances, when by all rule he should have met his destruction. He certainly did not follow his advantages with sufficient vigor, when Buell's corps was thrown back upon Louisville. But he was active and skilful in retreat. However successful was the campaign in Kentucky for the Confederates in obtaining supplies, they were disappointed in the primary object of rousing the State against the Union, and obtaining recruits.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Cumberland Gap. — Morgan's Escape. — Grant. — Rosecrans. — Jackson. — Combined Attack on Price. — Barnett's Corner. — Price Retreats. — Corinth. — Repulse of the Enemy. — Retreat. — Pursuit. — Rosecrans Transferred. — Vicksburg Expedition. — Advance of Grant. — Pemberton falls back. — Grant's Lines Cut. — He Retreats. — Rosecrans. — Reorganization. — His Advance. — The Enemy Retires. — Stone River. — Defeat of the Enemy. — Losses.

When the army of Bragg entered eastern Kentucky, it cut the line of communication between the Federal forces at Cumberland Gap and the North, and compelled the evacuation of the Gap. That place is 150 miles a little east and south from Lexington. The range of mountains, eighty miles east of Kentucky, undergoes a depression at Cumberland, which makes the summit a little more easy of access. The mountain on each side of the Gap is 1,200 feet high, and the Gap but 400 feet. Through this notch passes a good road, coming from Lexington. The occupation of this Gap by the Confederate government, as it commanded the entrance to East Tennessee from the North, and gave them the means of passing into eastern Kentucky was of the highest importance. At the commencement of hostilities, a Confederate force occupied it, and held possession until June 10, when Mitchel occupied Chattanooga, causing it to be evacuated. It was afterwards occupied by General S. W. Morgan, who retained possession, with a force of 10,000, until the 17th September, when, finding his supplies cut off by the advance of Bragg, and his rations nearly exhausted, he evacuated the place, leaving his sick and four siege guns, and made for the Ohio river, which he reached in safety October 4.

When the Union forces, early in June, were divided by the movements of Buell to east Kentucky, and the corresponding movement by Bragg was made on the part of the Confederates, their remaining forces, under Lovell, Van Dorn, and Price, began to concentrate for a forward movement against Grant. Stanley's division of Rosecrans'





corps held Tusculumbia. As the Confederate movement began to threaten the line between Corinth and Tusculumbia, the Union advance at that point, under Colonel Murphy, fell back thirty miles upon Iuka. The Ohio brigade, on the next day, fell back from Iuka upon Corinth. On the day following, a Confederate cavalry force charged into Iuka, and drove out the brigade of Murphy, capturing large stores, including 680 barrels of flour. Murphy was placed under arrest, and his brigade ordered back to Iuka, under Mower. It, however, was halted at Jacinto. Price then occupied Iuka in force, in the hope of drawing Grant from Corinth, which was about to be attacked by Van Dorn. The main object of Price was, however, to cross the Tennessee, and fall upon the rear of Buell, who then, under the pressure of Bragg's advance, was falling back upon Nashville. This being the position of affairs, General Rosecrans and Grant formed the design of cutting off Price, and forcing him to surrender. In this view, Grant and Ord, with 18,000 men, were to move upon Burnsville, to the attack of Price, while Rosecrans, with a part of his army, moving by way of Jacinto, should attack him in flank. The remainder of his troops were to march by the Fulton road, to cut Price's retreat. This combination failed through the singular inertness of General Grant. He left Corinth at the same time with General Rosecrans, and reached Burnsville in the afternoon, where he remained thirty-six hours, and then advanced until he encountered the Confederate pickets, upon which he drew back, and waited until the next morning. He then sent a flag to the enemy, which did not return until the afternoon. Meantime, Rosecrans's two divisions, Stanly and Hamilton, reached Jacinto in a drenching rain. Resuming the march on the following morning, they encountered, at Barnett's Corners, the enemy's pickets. They drove them in six miles towards Iuka. The whole column had now arrived, and were impatiently listening for the guns, which, by pre-arrangement, should announce Grant's direct attack on the west and north. After the loss of two hours, a despatch arrived from Grant, seven miles distant, saying that he was waiting for Rosecrans, who immediately moved forward until, within two miles of Iuka, he discovered the Confederates occupying a position of much strength, and

which commanded the country for some distance. The division of Hamilton, with the eleventh Ohio battery, had the advance, and were received with a murderous fire of artillery and musketry. After a very severe struggle of some two hours, with but little support, the Confederates charged, and captured the six guns of the Ohio battery. The contest continued with great obstinacy until night-fall. During the night General Price retreated. There being no opposition from General Grant, Price reached Bay Spring, twenty-seven miles distant, in safety; and in the morning, Rosecrans ordered forward a cavalry force in pursuit. This force found the Ohio guns abandoned. The Union loss in the engagement was 148 killed, 570 wounded, 74 missing. The Confederate loss was as considerable, including three generals, Lytle, Berry, and Whitfield. In this result all the combinations failed. General Buell was no longer in fear of Price. Van Dorn was not in season to attack Corinth, since Grant, falling back after the latter, got there before him.

Price, continuing his retreat *via* Bay Spring, in a south-westerly direction, reached Baldwin, Mississippi. He then marched upon Dumas, where he formed a junction with Van Dorn. Proceeding in his advance to Corinth, by way of the old Chewalla road, Price was joined by Lovell, at Pocahontas. On the 30th of September, the Confederates, in their advance, encountered the brigade of Ogleby, which had been thrown forward by Rosecrans, upon the Chewalla road, in the design of falling back to lead the enemy under the heavy guns at Corinth. The resistance offered by Ogleby was very solid, and McArthur was ordered forward to his support, succeeded by Davis. These three brigades were driven back on the 3d, by the accumulating force of the enemy, with the loss of Ogleby wounded, and General Hackelman killed.

The position of Corinth was very strong. There remained the original works, of great extent, that had been built by Beauregard, to resist the Union advance under Halleck. When Halleck occupied the place, he constructed a new line of works, of less extent than those of Beauregard; and now Rosecrans, expecting the attack of Price, had constructed a third line, still more compact. These consisted of four redoubts, covering the whole front of the town, and protecting the flanks, where, also, the

ground was broken and swampy. The Union army faced north. Its extreme right was held by General Hamilton. On his left was erected, on the night of the 3d, a new five-gun battery, which commanded the road from Bolivar. The Chewalla road, which, coming over hills, enters the town on the left centre, was commanded by Fort Williams, with its twenty-four-pound Parrotts. Fort Robinson, on a high ridge, enfiladed both roads. The Confederate plan included an attack by Price, by the Bolivar road, and a simultaneous attack under Van Dorn, by the Chewalla road. General Davies' division was on the Union left of Hamilton. The Illinois and Missouri sharpshooters were on his left, and the line was prolonged by McKean's and Arthur's brigades of Stanly's division. The cavalry, under Misener, were in reserve.

The Confederates, following up the retreating brigades from the Chewalla road, on the night of the 3d, came in front of the Union position, and formed lines 1,000 yards distant. During the night they planted batteries at 200 yards, and at daybreak opened a fierce fire upon Corinth. The battery was soon silenced by the guns of Fort Williams. At ten o'clock dark masses of the enemy were observed moving up the Bolivar road. This was the force under Price. They formed and advanced with great impetuosity. As they came within range of the Federal batteries, they were smitten with a storm of shot that opened great lanes in the advancing column. They closed steadily up, and came on with extraordinary determination to win. They pressed up the glacis, and received the fire of the Union line with marvellous fortitude, and returned it with such vigor that the division of Davis broke in disorder. The enemy rushed in at the opening, and took possession of the head-quarters of Rosecrans. The retiring troops, however, were quickly rallied by the opportune advance of the fifty-sixth Illinois, and returning the charge, recovered the ground. The Confederates now wavered, and a general advance of the Union line overthrew them, and they retired to the woods in front. Meantime Van Dorn had great difficulties to encounter, hence his advance was much slower than that of Price, who had already suffered defeat before Van Dorn was in line. The two forts, Robinson and Williams, were 150 yards apart, on high ground, the latter commanding the former.

The Ohio brigade of Fuller was formed behind the ridge. The forty-third Ohio was on the right, and the twenty-seventh and sixty-third, in succession, towards the left, which rested on Fort Robinson. The forty-third stood at right angles with the sixty-third, and extended between the two forts. The eleventh Missouri was in the angle. The thirty-seventh supported the twenty-seventh. The enemy advanced with the Mississippians and Texans in front. As he approached, the batteries made great havoc in the ranks, but they came on with a determined and unbroken front until they reached a ditch which lined the front of the position. The Ohio troops were lying flat behind the ridge, with orders to reserve their fire until the enemy were at short range. As the enemy advanced, under a storm of grape from the fort, they rose and delivered their fire with terrible effect. The men dropped by scores, and fell back upon their supports. These came on with terrible vigor. The sixty-third Ohio, however, opened out, and the Missourians came into line just as the enemy rushed in upon the line. A hand-to-hand combat lasted some time, leaving half the sixty-third dead and wounded upon the field. The enemy at last gave way, and was definitively repulsed, and the day was won. The battle, begun at 10 o'clock, had lasted two hours. The enemy gradually drew back, masking his movements so skilfully as to keep up the impression that he would renew the attack. It was not until 3 o'clock on the morning of the 5th that General Rosecrans was ready to pursue, and then by sending forward three fresh regiments, under McPherson, which arrived after the battle, from Jackson. The Federal loss in the battle was stated at 315 killed, 1,312 wounded, 232 prisoners, and two Parrott guns.

The Confederate force retired by the way they came. They had a force at the Hatchie bridge to protect the crossing. On the 4th this force was attacked by a part of Grant's command, under Generals Ord and Hurlburt, defeated and driven off with the loss of six guns. The Union loss was 560 killed, wounded and missing. This action interrupted Price's retreat, but he finally crossed at Crum's Mills, and was pursued to Ripley, losing 1,000 prisoners, eleven guns, and much ammunition and stores. The battle decided the fate of West Tennessee, which was now securely held.

The Confederates, having fallen back, gradually concentrated and reorganized their broken force, and having brought it into good condition, again advanced north-east, and occupied Holly Springs, near Grand Junction. In the meantime General Rosecrans was ordered to Cincinnati to take command of the army of the Ohio, vice Buell. General Grant's force was increased by new levies, and he occupied Columbus, Trenton, Jackson, and Bolivar, on the line of the railroad; thus approaching within twenty miles of the position of Price and Van Dorn. The opposing forces remained in their relative positions, with little change, until towards the end of November.

It was now determined to make a new attempt to capture Vicksburg, and an expedition, in that view, was organized at Cairo and Memphis, under General Sherman. The expedition was to descend the Mississippi and attack Vicksburg in front, while General Grant should proceed by the railroad route, and co-operate on the rear of the city. In this view, on the 28th of November, General Hamilton's corps was put in motion for Holly Springs, which point he reached on the following day. The remaining troops followed, and on the 1st of December, Grant encamped at Lumpkin's Mills, seven miles north of the Tallahatchie river. The enemy had thrown up extensive works, in the view of defending the passage of the river; but, simultaneously with the advance of Hamilton, General Hovey had been detached with a division, 7,000 strong, of General Curtis's troops, from Helena, Arkansas, to cross the river, and make a flank movement upon the Confederate position of the Tallahatchie. Intelligence of this movement caused Van Dorn, who held the Confederate advance, to fall back, and on the 3d he passed through Oxford, his rear guard skirmishing with the Federal advance. General Pemberton continued his retreat to Granada, under the impression that the combined force of Curtis and Grant, in his front, was very large. Hovey, however, after destroying some property on the railroad, and boats on the river, returned to Helena, when Pemberton immediately resumed the offensive. Grant's headquarters were at Oxford, and his chief dépôt of supplies was at Holly Springs, thirty miles north. Accordingly, a considerable cavalry force was organized, which, making a circuit, surprised Holly Springs on the 20th

December, capturing the force there with immense stores. The prisoners were paroled, and the stores and cotton which had been purchased in the neighborhood were destroyed. Simultaneously with this movement, attacks were made on Jackson, Tennessee, Humboldt, and Trenton. The latter place was surrendered by Colonel Fry, who was in command, and stores and cotton burned. These operations, cutting up Grant's line of communication, compelled him to retreat to Holly Springs, thus defeating his plan of co-operation. A division, 10,000 strong, of his troops, was, however, detached to support Sherman's expedition.

After the successful retreat of General Bragg from Kentucky, the forces of General Buell fell back in order to obtain forage and supplies; and General Rosecrans was ordered to take command of the army of the Ohio, Buell being relieved. The army, somewhat shattered by its campaign, required reorganizing and recruiting. The calls made by the President for 600,000 men, under the laws of July and August, were now producing results, and the new troops arriving freely at camp required to be organized and drilled, and means collected for their equipment and service. To this task General Rosecrans sedulously devoted himself. He assumed command October 27th. The army was concentrated at Bowling Green and Glasgow, 117 miles from Louisville. The country on which he was to operate had been devastated by the previous campaign, and it was impossible to obtain supplies except from the North-West, for which there were two routes, neither for the moment quite available. The Cumberland river was at a low stage of water, and the bridges over the Louisville and Nashville Railroad had been destroyed, as well as the tunnel at Gallatin. These communications required to be restored preliminary to a forward movement. Finally the three corps which composed the army under Generals McCook and Rousseau, who had been promoted to Gilbert's corps, and Crittenden, were ready to move. On the 1st of November, general head-quarters were at Bowling Green. The corps of McCook, in the advance, passed through Nashville on the 7th, when General Rosecrans fixed his head-quarters there on the 10th of November, 1863 miles from Louisville, his base of supplies. He first saw to the opening of the Louisville and Nashville railroad to

obtain supplies, and proceeded with the great work of perfecting the condition of his new army, which occupied a position south-east of Nashville and about ten miles distant from it.

In the mean time, General Bragg had brought off his army, with its immense spoils, into Tennessee; had rested his men, recruited by an inexorable conscription, and aided by clouds of mounted men, formed into a guerilla-like cavalry, to avoid the hardships of conscription and infantry service. He had taken position at McMinnsville, Murfreesboro and Lavergne, facing the new position of Rosecrans. His force was estimated at about 45,000, comprised in the three corps of Smith, Hardee and Polk. General Joe Johnston was now placed in command of the Confederates in that department; the enemy was greatly superior in cavalry force, and thus held control of the entire country. The evident difficulties and labors of an advance into that country, and against such a force, and at such distance from his base of operations, with which he was connected by a single precarious thread, made it manifest that Rosecrans's policy was to induce the enemy to travel over as much as possible of the space that separated them; thus avoiding for us the wear and tear and diminution of our forces, and subjecting the enemy to all these inconveniences, beside increasing for him, and diminishing for us, the dangerous consequences of a defeat. Both parties remained comparatively quiet until towards the close of December. At that time Bragg, under the belief that Rosecrans with his raw troops would go into winter-quarters at Nashville, had weakened his force by despatching Colonel Forrest to make an attack upon Grant's communications in aid of Pemberton, who had commenced his forward movement. He also sent an infantry force in the same direction. Aware of these facts, Rosecrans determined to seize the opportunity for a movement, which was determined for Christmas night, December 25. The position of the Confederate army at this time was approachable by several roads. General Hardee held the left at Nolinsville, General Polk the centre at Lavergne, and General E. Kirby Smith the right, at Murfreesboro. The right of the Union army, opposed to Hardee, was under McCook, at Franklin turnpike. The centre, under Crittenden, with Wood's, Palmer's and Van Cleve's divisions,

was at Breakville, and the left under Rousseau at Mill Creek. The general plan was for each corps to advance by the highway before it, while General Negley should attempt to turn the Confederate left. At dawn of the 26th, the men went forward with great enthusiasm. McCook drove in the advance posts of Hardee, capturing one gun, while Crittenden advanced to Lavergne, on the Murfreesboro pike, without serious opposition. The Confederates retired, and were so sharply pushed that they had not time to destroy the bridges over which they passed on the Jefferson and Murfreesboro turnpikes. The Federals therefore followed uninterruptedly until they reached Stone river, where the Confederates were concentrated. On the 29th, McCook moved within seven miles of Murfreesboro; Crittenden on his left, and Rousseau on the extreme right. On the 30th, the commanders met at headquarters, and the plan of battle was explained to them.

General McCook was cautioned that in his present position he faced too much to the east, and should change more to the south. That the success of the whole plan of turning the enemy's right depended upon McCook's holding his position three hours. General Smith held the Confederate centre, masked by cedar forests. The right comprised the three divisions of Cheatham, Breckinridge and Buckner, under Polk, and rested on Lebanon turnpike. At this time there were several attacks on the Federal rear, by which many trains were captured, and the communications threatened.

The morning of the 31st was very foggy. The troops were under arms at daylight, and at 7 were preparing for battle, and the opposing forces were separated by a valley, which narrowed towards the Federal left. The corps of McCook was arrayed with Johnson on the right, Davis in the centre, and Sheridan on the left. The movement on the Union side commenced by the advance of Van Cleve on the left. The enemy had, however, made earlier provision to attack the Union right. At 6½ o'clock their batteries opened with a furious fire, under which the infantry advanced in heavy columns of regiments, at the double-quick, his left attacking Willich's and Kirk's brigades of Johnson's division, which, being disposed thin and light, without support, were, after a sharp but fruitless contest, crumbled to pieces and driven back, leaving

Edgarton's and part of Goodspeed's batteries in the hands of the enemy.

The enemy, following up, attacked Davis's division, and speedily dislodged Post's brigade; Carlin's brigade was compelled to follow, as Woodruff's brigade, had previously left its position on his left. Johnson's brigade, on retiring, inclined too far to the west, and were too much scattered to make a combined resistance, though they fought bravely at one or two points before reaching Wilkinson's pike. The reserve brigade of Johnson's division, advancing from its bivouac near Wilkinson's pike, toward the right, took a good position, and made a gallant, but ineffectual stand, as the whole Confederate left was moving up on the ground abandoned by our troops.

Within an hour from the time of the opening of the battle, a staff officer from General McCook announced to General Rosecrans that the right wing was heavily pressed, and needed assistance.

Two batteries of Johnson's division were lost without firing a gun. The supporting brigade of infantry broke and run. The gunners were shot down at the guns, and the rest of the division retired. The division of Davis fared no better. It was shattered by the attack, and lost three batteries, retiring in much confusion, uncovering the division of Sheridan, which offered firmer resistance, and struggled manfully to maintain its ground, until the other might rally on the supports, and again come up. The effort was vain, however. The division retreated slowly, until it again got into line with the others, which had meantime reformed, but only again to break. They formed for the third time, under cover of the advance of the centre, under Negley, who came to their aid, and, being supported by Rousseau, succeeded in checking the Confederate advance. Sheridan, after sustaining four successive attacks, gradually swung his right from a south-easterly to a north-westerly direction, repulsing the enemy four times, losing the gallant General Sill of his right, and Colonel Roberts of his left brigade, when, having exhausted his ammunition—Negley's division being in the same predicament, and heavily pressed—after desperate fighting, they fell back from the position held from the commencement, through the cedar woods, in which Rousseau's division, with a portion of Negley's and Sheridan's, met

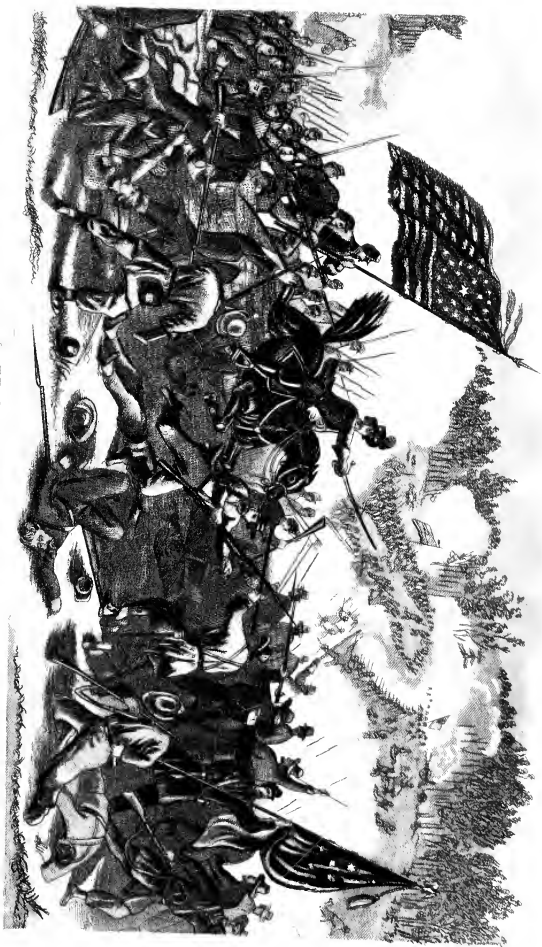
the advancing enemy and checked his movements, relieving Sheridan from the pressure. This violent irruption of the Confederates on the Union right prevented Rosecrans from throwing forward his left, as he had intended. He therefore marched by the forest, massed his artillery in great strength upon his centre, at the probable point of attack. The Confederate force, consisting of the centre and right of left wing, then flushed with success, advanced with great impetuosity, when Negley's covering force retired, and brought the Confederate line within a most destructive concentric fire of artillery. This staggered and caused it to pause, amidst the most terrible slaughter, then waver and partly retire. Meantime McCook had succeeded in reforming his troops, and getting into line on the right of Rousseau. It was now noon, and the Confederate line had fallen back, and firing had ceased along the entire line. The Union troops had been driven back between two and three miles, with the loss of twenty-eight guns, 200 wagons, 4,000 prisoners, and 3,000 killed and wounded. The Confederate loss was not known.

The left and centre of the Union army, occupying very strong positions, was now perpendicular to the Murfreesboro road and the right was parallel to the road, being thus at right angles with the centre. The communication with Nashville had been cut off by the Confederate cavalry, which had captured large quantities of hospital stores. At 3 P. M. the Confederates commenced an attack upon the Federal left and centre. The contest lasted two hours, and after much loss on both sides, was discontinued for the night.

The gallantry and steadiness of our troops in battle is an exhaustless theme of eulogy. They had exhibited splendid qualities from the beginning of the movement, and in the heavy combats of the 30th, their conduct was beyond praise. The next morning, when the battle was roaring on the right, the General Commanding addressed an "order" to the troops, of which the following is a copy, viz. :

"HEAD-QUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE CUMBERLAND,
"IN FRONT OF MURFREESBORO, Tenn., Dec. 31, 1862.

"ORDERS: The General Commanding desires to say to the soldiers of the army of the Cumberland, that he was well pleased with their conduct yesterday. It was all that he could have wished for. He neither saw nor heard of any skulking. They behaved with the



BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG, JULY 1, 1863.



coolness and gallantry of veterans. He now feels perfectly confident, with God's grace and their help, of striking this day a blow for the country, the most crushing, perhaps, which the rebellion has yet sustained. Soldiers! the eyes of the whole nation are upon you; the very fate of the nation may be said to hang on the issues of this day's battle. Be true, then, to yourselves, true to your own manly character and soldierly reputation, true to the love of your own dear ones at home, whose prayers ascend this day to God for your success. Be cool; I need not ask you to be brave. Keep ranks; do not throw away your fire; fire slowly, deliberately—above all, fire low, and be always sure of your aim. Close readily in upon the enemy, and when you get within charging distance, rush upon him with the bayonet. Do this, and victory will certainly be yours. Recollect that there are hardly any troops in the world that will stand a bayonet charge, and that those who make it are sure to win.

"By command of

Major-General ROSECRANS.

"JULIUS P. GARESCHÉ,

"Assistant Adjutant-General, and Chief of Staff."

General Rosecrans' statement of force and losses in the battle was as follows:

We moved on the enemy with the following forces:

Infantry.....	41,421	Cavalry.....	3,296
Artillery.....	2,223		
Total.....			46,940

We fought the battle with the following forces:

Infantry.....	37,977	Cavalry.....	3,200
Artillery.....	2,223		
Total.....			43,400

We lost in killed:

Officers.....	92	Enlisted men.....	1,441
Total.....			1,533

We lost in wounded:

Officers.....	384	Enlisted men.....	6,865
Total.....			7,241
Total killed and wounded.....			8,778

Being 20.03 per cent. of the entire force in action, and 3,600 missing.

He estimated the enemy's force at 62,490 men. The Confederate accounts of the battle were as follows:

Prisoners taken.....	5,000	Union loss in killed and	
Pieces of artillery.....	61	wounded.....	9,000
Small arms.....	7,500	Confederate loss—killed.....	1,000
Wagons destroyed.....	950	Wounded.....	3,500
Confederate force engaged.....			30,000

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Turn of the Tide of War.—Progress Checked.—New Combination.—600,000 Men.—Expedition.—Vicksburg.—Sherman's Attack.—Union Loss.—McClelland in Command.—Troops Retire.—Milliken's Bend.—Canal.—Indianola.—Queen of the West.—New Routes to Vicksburg.—Farragut's Fleet.—Port Hudson.

THE tide of victory, which had run so uninterruptedly in favor of the Northern arms from the beginning of the war, and which had excited the highest hopes of a speedy termination of the war, seemed to have reached its ebb at midsummer, 1862. There had been great success on the part of the Federal arms. Western and Middle Tennessee had been overrun and occupied by the government troops. The Confederates had been driven out of Missouri. New Orleans had been occupied, and the Federal forces were ascending the river, while all its strong points above had been seized by the government, Vicksburg and Port Hudson alone offering obstacles to the free navigation of the river. The seacoast, from Norfolk, skirting North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, were under the Federal rule, and the limits of the Confederacy seemed to be rapidly contracting under the pressure of the national power. In all this apparent success, however, there were no practical results. There was no movement towards peace, nor fruition of the many hopes that had germinated in the public mind, but a certain degree of popular impatience was manifest. The Western people would no longer submit to futile efforts to open the Mississippi, under what was ascribed to New England intrigue. The more so, that the impression began to gain ground that there were influential parties interested in prolonging the war, or diverting it to other objects than that of restoring the Federal authority. Nevertheless, the army of General McClelland was pressing upon Richmond, and the capture of the Confederate capital would, it was hoped, produce

results. Suddenly the public were startled with the announcement that the iron-clads, for the first time, had failed to accomplish their object. The Monitor and her consorts had attacked Fort Darling, which had been looked upon as a slight obstruction, and had been repulsed, and that so effectually, that the attack was never renewed. From that moment the general course of events was adverse to the Federal arms. The defeat of McClellan followed, and speedily the defeat of Sherman before Vicksburg.

These were grave events; and instead of stopping enlistments as had been proposed by Secretary Stanton and Senator Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Senate military committee, it became necessary to double the army. This was done under the act of July 1, calling for 300,000 volunteers for the war, and by that of August 9, calling for 300,000 men for nine months, who were to be drafted unless promptly volunteered. These 600,000 men were designed to open campaigns of great vigor. Rosecrans was to cross Tennessee and penetrate Alabama, the heart of the Confederacy, with an irresistible force, and the Mississippi was to be opened by a grand combination upon Vicksburg from above and below, while the reorganized and reinforced army of the Potomac was to renew its march upon Richmond. The 600,000 men were soon mustered into the service of the government, since the large bounties offered to volunteers sufficed to fill the quotas without resort to drafting, and the expeditions and campaigns were opened. These grand combinations unfortunately produced no practical results. The army of the Potomac three times reorganized, under Pope, Burnside and Hooker, met the same fate, without gaining ground upon Richmond. The army of the Ohio, under Buell, failed of its mission, and under Rosecrans, succeeded only in holding West Tennessee, without penetrating Alabama. Grant had made some progress towards the rear of Vicksburg, but had suddenly retrograded, when his communication was threatened. The grand combination for the opening of the Mississippi was to assault Vicksburg on the 25th of December, Christmas day. In that view an expedition was fitted out under General Banks, for New Orleans, whence he was to ascend the river, in company with the fleet under Commodore Far-

ragut, while an expedition under General Sherman was to leave Memphis and descend the river with Commodore Porter, and General Grant was to operate upon the rear of Vicksburg. The strength of the combination was the expedition under Sherman. This rendezvoused at Memphis and Helena, and took its departure on the 21st of December. On the 26th, it entered the Yazoo river, which empties into the Mississippi river, ten miles above Vicksburg. Vicksburg is situated upon a high bluff, rising nearly a hundred feet above the water. This bluff faces very nearly to the west. The Mississippi in front of Vicksburg having rounded the tongue of land, three miles, which puts out from the Louisiana shore, runs in a south-westerly course. These bluffs are on its eastern bank, and run off from a point five miles below the city, directly inland from the head of the bend in the Mississippi, until they strike the Yazoo river, nine miles north-east of Vicksburg in a straight line, and twenty-three miles from the Mississippi by the course of the Yazoo river.

The face of the bluff, throughout its length precipitous and high, furnishes a natural defence against any force attempting to get into the rear of the city from the north. Where the bluffs approach the Yazoo river there were constructed formidable batteries, that prevented the passage of all manner of craft. Just above these batteries, and defended by them, they had placed a heavy raft of timber and iron in the stream, making a most effectual blockade.

Thus it was impossible to flank this range of bluffs. They were to be attacked, if attacked at all, full in front. Against this the enemy guarded themselves by fortifying the entire range, from Vicksburg to Haines Bluff, Milldale, its upper extremity. These fortifications consist of abatis in front of the bluffs to a width on the average of a mile. At the foot of the bluff they had rifle-pits the entire way. Above the rifle-pits, and in the face of the bluff, they had constructed batteries mounting one gun each, at short intervals all the way along. On the summit of the bluffs they had earthworks thrown up, ready to cover field artillery whenever it should be desirable to bring it into action from any of these points. Thus these entire ranges of hills were one complete, bristling

fortification, dangerous to approach and difficult to capture.

These formidable works were held by the combined armies of Pemberton and Price, amounting to some 50,000 troops, with 160 guns. These forces had concentrated after Grant had been driven back to Holly Springs on the 20th. The attack and reduction of these works promised to be a matter of extreme difficulty. On Saturday morning, the 27th, the Benton and other boats made an attack on Haines Bluff, about twenty miles from the mouth of the Yazoo river. While this was in progress, the same day, General Sherman landed his forces on the right bank of the river, ten miles up the Yazoo. The line of battle was at once formed, General A. J. Smith took the right, General Morgan L. Smith the right centre, General Steele the left centre, and General G. W. Morgan the extreme left. Our line was formed in this order parallel with the bluffs, and in the edge of the timber that skirts the abatis, bringing it about a mile from the enemy's lines. The advance of the line was through almost impracticable ground. The old roads had been destroyed, and felled trees and other obstacles were profusely strewn in the path. It was therefore found to be impossible to carry out General Sherman's design of pushing on to the bluffs the same night. On Monday morning, a heavy fog lay until 8 o'clock, when a bombardment began from 150 guns, which for some hours rained shot upon the bluffs, without much apparent effect. Finally the line of infantry began to emerge from the woods in which it was formed. In front of Smith, on the right centre, was a bayou which it was necessary for the troops to pass. In front of Steele was a broad plain, covered with abatis, and cut up with gulleys in which were sharpshooters, and Morgan on the left encountered similar obstacles. The advance of Smith to cross the bayou was made with great courage and determination, but was met with a terrific fire which staggered and forced back the column. Smith rushed to the head to hold his men to their work, when he received a shot which compelled him to quit the field, and his men were now without a leader, and exposed to a withering fire, fell back. On his right General A. J. Smith crossed the bayou, but won the ground slowly, amid the gullies and felled trees, exposed to a biting fire, which

they could not effectually return. Their numbers rapidly wasted in the fierce struggle, and they were rescued from destruction by the timely opening of a battery upon the Confederate force which was pressing hard upon the fifty-fourth Ohio and eighth Missouri.

Meantime the divisions of Steele and Morgan had pushed through all obstacles, and with great determination had cleared the rifle-pits and gained considerable ground, some of the men, with rare courage, even attained the bluffs, but in numbers too weak to hold. The bluffs proved, however, to be too strong for the attempt, and the line retired to the camping ground of the previous night. The men were here exposed to great hardships, a violent storm and rain, such as usually succeeds from heavy cannonading, set in and drenched the weary men resting on their arms, causing suffering to the numbers of wounded that strewed the plain in the front. The force of the enemy in the pits which Steele attacked was the brigade of Gregg, composed of the second and thirtieth Tennessee regiments. The defence of that portion of the works had been committed to General Stephen D. Lee, a native of South Carolina, who was appointed first lieutenant in the fourth regiment of United States artillery, July 12, 1854, but who followed the fortunes of South Carolina, and was made general shortly before the attack on Vicksburg.

General Grant, on taking command of the army, became satisfied that Vicksburg could only be turned from the south side, and, in accordance with this conviction, prosecuted the work on the canal, which had been located by Brigadier-General Williams, across the Peninsula, on the Louisiana side of the river, from opposite Milliken's bend to New Carthage, with all vigor, hoping to make a channel which would pass transports for moving the army and carrying supplies to the new base of operations thus provided. The constant rains and high water long delayed the execution of the work, and attention was turned to more practicable routes; one was to cut a channel from the river to Lake Providence. The general had no great expectations of important results from this route, but having more troops than could be employed to advantage at Young's Point, and knowing that Lake Providence was connected by Bayou Baxter with Bayou Macon, a navigable stream through which transports might pass into the

Mississippi below, through Tensas, Wachita, and Red rivers, he thought it possible that a route might be opened in that direction which would enable him to co-operate with General Banks at Port Hudson. Another plan was to get into the Yazoo river by way of Cold Water and Tallahatchie. This was found to be impracticable. The following day was one of rest, seeing that the roads were impassable and the bayous full of water. An Ohio regiment, left too far in the advance, tempted the enterprise of the enemy, who made a sudden rush and captured it with its guns and stores. The losses in these engagements amounted to 750 killed, 1,400 wounded and 400 missing.

In consequence of the wound of General M. L. Smith, General A. L. Smith was placed in command of his division, and General Burbridge succeeded to the command of Smith. On the 2d January, General McClelland arrived and assumed command of the army. He held a council of war, in which it was determined to abandon the siege, since through the failure of Banks, Farragut and Grant, to co-operate as previously intended, the force was not sufficient.

The men were accordingly promptly embarked, and retired to Milliken's Bend, twelve miles above the mouth of the Yazoo. The Arkansas river was now navigable, and it was determined to strike a blow at Port Arkansas. General Gorman was in command at Helena, and received orders to evacuate that place, move to Napoleon, and then march upon Port Arkansas, commanded by Colonel Dunnington, formerly of the United States navy. At the same time the naval expedition went up the Arkansas and White rivers, and on the 11th January captured Port Arkansas, with 5,000 prisoners. Three other forts were captured, St. Charles, Duval's Bluff, and Desarc. The main body then returned to Vicksburg, and being largely reinforced, landed on the Louisiana side, five miles below the mouth of the Yazoo, and commenced to reopen the canal, began in the previous year, across the tongue of land in front of Vicksburg, and designed to turn the channel of the river. A force of 5,000 men was put to work to enlarge the canal, in the view of floating through the troops and landing them for the attack of Vicksburg on its southern side. The Union fleet concentrated there was

now one hundred and seven boats, ninety-six transports, and nineteen gunboats. While the canal was in process of digging, the troops were concentrated at Milliken's Bend for reorganization and drill. Little of interest occurred in the progress of the work until the 2d of February, when the ram Queen of the West ran the batteries of Vicksburg down the river without injury, arriving at Natchez the same evening. She soon after made an excursion up the Red river to attack Fort Taylor. On the way up she captured, February 17th, the Confederate steamer Eva, and forced her pilot, John Burke, to take the vessel up to the batteries, which were not far ahead, although when he was placed at the wheel under a guard, he informed the commander of the Queen that they were fifteen miles distant. He then ran close into the batteries, which opened upon the advancing vessel with a shot that disabled her. The pilot jumped over in the confusion and gained the shore. The steamer drifted ashore, and was captured with eighteen of her men. She was soon repaired and placed in Confederate commission.

Meantime, on the 14th of February, the gunboat Indianola ran the batteries in order to join the Queen of the West. The consequences of this event are thus described by a correspondent. "The ram, when she ran down and made her trip to Port Hudson, was not substantially armed, and is not now, although she has been armed with thirty-pounder Parrotts, calculated to withstand a fire from land batteries. Her safety in such encounters lies in her heels. To her qualities as a swift and powerful ram, armed with long range rifles, we have now added one of the most formidable gunboats, with an armament superior in metal and range to any rebel gun on the Mississippi. Our possession of the river from Vicksburg to Port Hudson is perfect. River communication between the two beleaguered posts is completely destroyed." The Indianola was unfortunately almost immediately captured by the Queen of the West, and both were subsequently destroyed by the Union gunboats. The operations on the canal were prolonged until it became evident that it would not succeed, and that even if it could be made passable for the transports, its debouch upon the river was so commanded by the new batteries erected by the enemy, that it would not answer the object.

A new plan was then projected, by which to get the troops below Vicksburg, and seek in the ground behind the bluffs, and between the Mississippi and Black rivers, the means of reaching Vicksburg. These finally gave place to the bolder and more hazardous one of running the batteries by the fleets and transports. This had been attempted with some success by the fleet of Farragut from below, passing Port Hudson the 14th March. The enemy's batteries extended some four miles at that formidable point, yet the passage was attempted by seven vessels—the Hartford, Albatross, Richmond, Kinco, Monongahela, Genesee, and Mississippi. A number of mortar-boats kept up a bombardment from the rear. Of the fleet, the Hartford and Albatross succeeded in passing. The Richmond put back with damage, and the Mississippi was destroyed. About eighty were killed in the passage. At Grand Gulf the Hartford again encountered the enemy's batteries, and received fourteen shot. Soon after, on the 25th, the Lancaster and the Switzerland, of Porter's fleet, attempted to brush down by Vicksburg and join Farragut. The Lancaster was destroyed, but the Switzerland got down in a disabled condition, but being taken in tow by the Albatross, was again made serviceable. It was now determined to run the batteries with a fleet of gunboats and transports, barges and flat-boats, to enable a body of troops to cross the river.

On the night of the 16th of April, Admiral Porter's fleet and the transports Silver Wave, Forest Queen, and Henry Clay ran the Vicksburg batteries. The boilers of the transports were protected as well as possible with hay and cotton. More or less commissary stores were put on each. All three of these boats were struck more or less frequently while passing the enemy's batteries, and the Henry Clay, by the explosion of a shell, or by other means, was set on fire and entirely consumed. The other two boats were somewhat injured, but not seriously disabled. No one on board of either was hurt.

As these boats succeeded in getting by so well, General Grant ordered six more to be prepared in like manner for running the batteries. These latter, viz: Tigress, Anglo-Saxon, Cheeseman, Empire City, Horizonia, and Moderator, left Milliken's Bend on the night of the 22d of April, and five of them got by, but in a somewhat damaged

condition. The Tigress received a shot in her hull, below the water-line, and sunk on the Louisiana shore soon after passing the last of the batteries. The crews of these steamers, with the exception of that of the *Forest Queen*, Captain D. Conway, and the *Silver Wave*, Captain McMillan, were composed of volunteers from the army. Upon the call for volunteers for this dangerous enterprise, officers and men presented themselves by hundreds, anxious to undertake the trip.

The fleet concentrated at New Carthage, where the troops continued to arrive. The roads from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage were intolerably bad. Nevertheless, on the 29th March, the thirteenth army corps, Major-General J. A. McClelland commanding, was directed to take up its line of march for New Carthage, the seventeenth corps, McPherson, to follow, moving no faster than supplies and ammunition could be transported to them. The fifteenth army corps, Major-General W. T. Sherman commanding, was left to be the last to start. To prevent heavy reinforcements going from Vicksburg to the assistance of the Grand Gulf forces, where Grant intended to land, he directed Sherman to make a demonstration on Haines Bluff, and to make all the show possible. From information afterwards received from prisoners captured, this ruse succeeded admirably. Arriving at Smith's plantation, two miles from New Carthage, it was found that the levee of Bayou Vidal was broken in several places, thus leaving New Carthage an island.

It became necessary to march around Vidal to Perkins's plantation, a distance of twelve miles more, making the whole distance to be marched from Milliken's Bend to reach water communication on the opposite side of the point, thirty-five miles. Ultimately the march was prolonged to Hard Times, seventy miles from Milliken's Bend. Over this distance, with bad roads to contend against, supplies of ordnance stores and provisions had to be hauled by wagons, with which to commence the campaign on the opposite side of the river.

On the 29th April, the thirteenth army corps, got on board the transports and barges, and were moved to the front of Grand Gulf on the 29th of April. The plan here was that the navy should silence the guns of the enemy, and the troops land under cover of the gun-

boats, and carry the place by storm. The position of Vicksburg was thus, in a manner, turned, by a very simple plan, after some \$5,000,000 had been uselessly expended in the construction of a canal opposite Vicksburg, one on Lake Providence, and a cutting at Yazoo Pass.

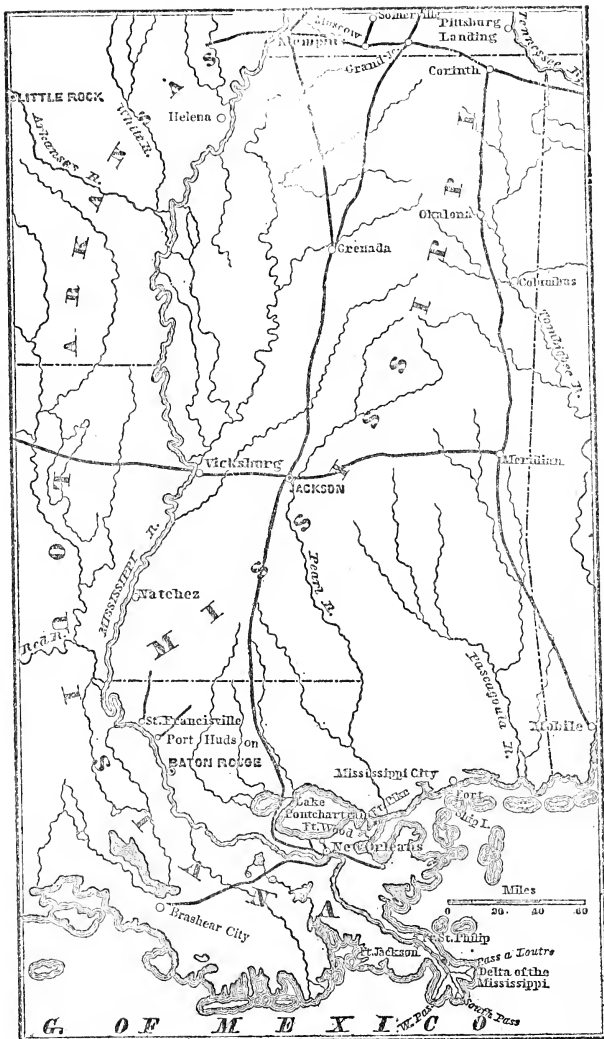
CHAPTER XXXIX

New Route of Approach.—Troops Cross the River.—Bruinsburg.—Port Gibson.—Defeat of General Bowen.—Raymond.—Jackson Taken.—Johnston Retires North.—Baker's Creek.—Vicksburg Invested.—Assault.—Repulse.—Guerilla Raid.—Obstinate defence.—Long Siege.—Johnston's Aid Ineffectual.—Truce.—Surrender.—Its Causes.—Chronology of Events.

THE Federal army was now below Vicksburg, supported by the fleet. Consequently, those formidable defences, which had so often defied the efforts directed from the North, were no longer of any avail. The southern side of the position was now to be approached, with much better hopes of success.

The troops were soon concentrated and formed for a lodgment on the Mississippi side, which was effected at Bruinsburg, on the 30th April. On the same day the gunboats attacked Grand Gulf, without effect. General Grant then determined to land at Bruinsburg, which is sixty-five miles below Vicksburg, and ten below Grand Gulf. The thirteenth corps immediately advanced, followed by the seventeenth, upon Port Gibson, held by the Confederates, under General Bowen, whom he defeated, eight miles from Bruinsburg, on the 1st, with heavy loss. The Union loss was 550 killed and wounded. This event placed General Grant in the rear of Grand Gulf, which was consequently abandoned by the enemy. Commodore Porter, two days after the engagement at Port Gibson, returned to Grand Gulf, and found it abandoned. He reported it to have been the strongest place on the Mississippi. Had the enemy succeeded in finishing the fortifications, no fleet could have taken them. General Grant made Grand Gulf his base of operations.

In the afternoon the army was again in motion in the direction of Raymond. It had been Grant's original intention to effect a junction with Banks, and reduce Port



Hudson, and then co-operate upon Vicksburg. The state of affairs on landing, however, induced him to advance at once upon Jackson.

On the 7th of May an advance was ordered, McPherson's corps keeping the road nearest Black river to Rocky Springs, McClernand's corps keeping the ridge road from Willow Springs, and Sherman following with his corps divided on the two roads. All the ferries were closely guarded until our troops were well advanced. It was the intention of General Grant here to hug the Black river as closely as possible with McClernand's and Sherman's corps, and get them to the railroad, at some place between Edwards Station and Bolton. McPherson was to move by way of Utica to Raymond, and from there into Jackson, destroying the railroad, telegraph, public stores, &c., and push west to rejoin the main force. Orders were given to McPherson accordingly. Sherman was moved forward on the Edwards Station road, crossing Fourteen Mile Creek at Dillon's plantation; McClernand was moved across the same creek, further west, sending one division of his corps by the Baldwin's Ferry road as far as the river. At the crossing of Fourteen Mile Creek both McClernand and Sherman had considerable skirmishing with the enemy to get possession of the crossing. On the morning of the 9th of May, the advance cavalry of the seventeenth corps fell in with the enemy's horsemen at Raymond, and reported to General McPherson the presence of a large infantry force in front. The force proved to be 4,000 men under General Gregg of Texas. In consequence of this report, the four regiments, composing the second Ohio Brigade of Logan's division, were ordered to advance in column of regiments towards the heavy timber which concealed the enemy, and which opened upon them an overwhelming fire. The first and third brigades were ordered forward in support, but could not dislodge the enemy. They were, however, compelled to give ground when the artillery or the enemy opened upon them. This was replied to by the eighth Michigan batteries. The enemy then made an attempt to take the batteries by a charge, but were repulsed with loss. The Confederates then fell back to a position in rear of Farnden's Creek. The brigades of Dennis and Smith then renewed the attack, but were taken in flank by the enemy, and a terrible struggle took place, in which

the Union loss was very heavy. The twentieth Ohio and twenty-third Indiana narrowly escaped annihilation, and the enemy was rapidly gaining ground, when the opportune arrival of Stevenson's brigade restored the battle and finally compelled the enemy to give ground, leaving to the Union troops a dearly bought victory. The enemy, being mostly under cover, suffered much less than the Union troops. General McPherson moved on the 13th to Clinton, destroyed the railroad and telegraph, and captured some important despatches from General Pemberton to General Gregg, who had commanded the day before in the battle of Raymond. Sherman moved to a parallel position on the Mississippi Springs and Jackson road; McClernand moved to a point near Raymond.

On the same day Crocker's division left Clinton to encounter the enemy, under Johnston, who had just arrived at Jackson with a force of 9,000. It was imperative upon Grant to defeat this force before turning upon Vicksburg, in order to clear his rear. He therefore assailed him promptly and vigorously. Crocker's corps leading the advance, soon fell in with the enemy's pickets, which fell back to within three miles of Jackson, where the main body of the enemy was in position on high ground. The corps of McPherson supported the division of Crocker. The first brigade, Sanborne, and the second brigade, Holmes, of Crocker's division, immediately formed in line to commence the attack. They advanced steadily over two hills in their front. Between these hills swept a storm of shot, and a halt was made under cover of a hill-side, until the remainder of the force got into position. The men rested, were harangued, and then resumed their forward movement up the slope, with a vigor so irresistible that a few minutes sufficed to plant the stars and stripes on the crest, amidst shouts of victory. The Confederates retired with comparatively little loss, since they were under cover. The Union loss was 200 killed and wounded, mostly by artillery. The results of this conflict were the occupation of Jackson, with a number of pieces of artillery. Johnston retired on Canton, twenty-five miles north of Jackson, and connecting with the road leading to Vicksburg. General Grant sent the following despatch:

JACKSON, MISS., *May 15,*

Via MEMPHIS, TENN., *May 20.*

"Major-General H. W. HALLECK, General-in-Chief, Washington:

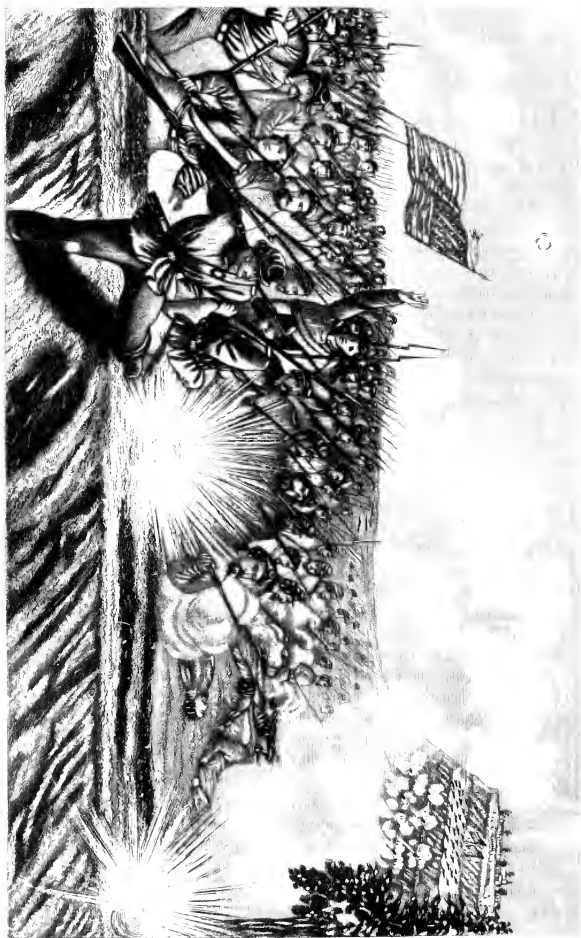
"This place fell into our hands yesterday, after a fight of about three hours. Joe Johnston was in command.

"The enemy retreated north, evidently with the design of joining the Vicksburg forces.

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*"

Meantime McClernand occupied Clinton with one division, Mississippi Springs with another, Raymond with a third, and had his fourth division, and Blair's division of Sherman's corps, with a wagon train still in the rear, near New Auburn, while McArthur, with one brigade of his division of McPherson's corps, was moving towards Raymond on the Utica road. General Grant now learned that General Johnston, as soon as he had satisfied himself that Jackson was to be attacked, had ordered Pemberton peremptorily to march out from the direction of Vicksburg and attack our rear. Availing himself of this information, he immediately issued orders to McClernand and Blair, of Sherman's corps, to face their troops towards Bolton, with a view to reaching Edwards Station, marching on different roads converging near Bolton. These troops were admirably located for such a move. McPherson was ordered to retrace his steps early in the morning of the 15th, on the Clinton road. Sherman was left in Jackson to destroy the railroads, bridges, factories, workshops, arsenals, and every thing valuable for the support of the enemy. This was accomplished in the most effectual manner.

The arrival of General Johnston, at Jackson, was with the advance guard of a force intended to relieve Pemberton in Vicksburg. He was informed that if he could hold out fifteen days, 100,000 men would succor him. General Johnston therefore manœuvred to keep open the communication with Vicksburg, and inquiet Grant for his flank, while awaiting the troops that were hurrying up from all directions. It was under these circumstances imperative upon Grant to strike quickly, since, although he was closing in upon Vicksburg, the enemy were also closing in upon him, and a little time would place him between two fires. If Pemberton could hold Grant before Vicksburg until Johnston should be in strength, Grant would be inevitably lost. It was similar to the Marengo campaign, when Messena, by his obstinacy in holding





Genoa, kept Melas in the south-west corner of Italy until the legions of Napoleon had closed in on his rear.

Grant had no recourse but to act promptly. The enemy, under Pemberton,* were posted at Baker's Creek, some miles east of the Big Black river. The force was composed of eighty regiments and ten batteries of artillery, numbering about 25,000 men. On the morning of the 16th, at 8 A. M., Sherman left Jackson for Bolton. Blair was ordered to Edwards Station, and McClelland and McPherson were ordered to establish communications with Blair and Osterhaus.

A range of hills running north and south comes to an abrupt termination near Baker's Creek, and the last eminence is called Champion Hill. The main road to Vicksburg runs to the north of it. The hill itself is covered with timber, and on each side are deep ravines and gulleys, filled with a scrub oak. Posted on this hill, the enemy were discovered on the 16th. Hovey's division of the thirteenth corps was disposed for attack on the road. Two divisions of McPherson's corps were on the right of this road, threatening the enemy's rear. These were awaiting the arrival of McClelland's corps, who were advancing on a road about the centre of the enemy's line, and two and a half miles distant. While waiting their arrival, the skirmishing of Hovey in front gradually became more serious, and assumed the importance of a battle by 11 o'clock, and the pressure upon him became very severe. His

* Lieutenant-General John C. Pemberton, a native of Pennsylvania, born in 1813, was appointed a cadet in 1833. He graduated on June 30, 1837, standing No. 27 in a class of fifty members, among whom were Generals Benham, Scammon, L. G. Arnold, Vogdes, Williams (dead), French, Sedgwick, Hooker, Todd, and others in the Union army; Braxton Bragg, Mackall, Early, and several others. He was promoted to second lieutenant of the Fourth Artillery July 1, 1837, and to first lieutenant March 19, 1842. In the Mexican war he was aid to General Worth from 1846 to 1848, and was breveted captain from September 23, 1846, for gallant conduct in the several conflicts at Monterey, Mexico, on the 21st, 22d and 23d days of September, 1846, and major from September 8, 1847, for the battle of Molino del Rey. He was distinguished and wounded in the capture of the city of Mexico. He was promoted to captain on the 16th of September, 1850. On the 19th of April, 1861, he resigned his connection with the United States Army, and at once joined with its enemies. He was made a colonel of the regular army, and for some time remained with this rank, when suddenly he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and placed in command of the works around Vicksburg and the department of Mississippi and East Louisiana.

troops stood up to the work with marvellous energy, until reinforced by two brigades of Crocker's division.

Logan's division of McClelland's corps had proceeded up the main road to Vicksburg, on the enemy's left and rear. The advance was made with increased caution, to allow of the arrival of McPherson's corps in support. The engagement soon became very warm, and relieved the pressure upon the front. The seventeenth corps then crossed an open field to the foot of the hill, at 11 o'clock, and commenced the action, which raged with great fury until 4 P. M. The enemy were deficient in artillery, but served some rifled six-pounders with great vigor. It appeared the Vicksburg road, after following the ridge in a southerly direction for about one mile, and to where it intersected one of the Raymond roads, turns almost to the west, down the hill and across the valley in which Logan was operating on the rear of the enemy. One brigade of Logan's division had, unconscious of this important fact, penetrated nearly to this road, and compelled the enemy to retreat to prevent capture. As it was, much of his artillery and Loring's division of his army was cut off, besides the prisoners captured. Mitchell's Ohio battery then advanced and opened upon the enemy, who, however, vigorously closed in, and the batteries escaped capture only by a prompt retreat, to escape the irruption of Logan on their rear, and the enemy were repulsed at all points. He retired, closely pursued by the troops of Osterhaus and Carr, who had orders to pursue to Black River and cross if they could. The enemy, however, retarded the pursuit, and made good its retreat upon Black River Bridge, twelve miles east of Vicksburg. In this engagement the Union loss was 3,500 killed and wounded. The enemy lost about 1,300. The Union force engaged was 20,000, and that of the enemy 10,000. The battle of Champion's Hill, or Baker's Creek, was fought mainly by Hovey's division of McClelland's corps, and Logan's and Quimby's divisions (the latter commanded by Brigadier-General M. M. Crocker) of McPherson's corps. The Black River, on its way to the Mississippi, runs due south, after leaving Bridgeport, until it approaches Champion Hill, when it bends westwardly for a few miles, and then renews its southerly course. The direct road to Vicksburg crosses the stream after

it resumes its southerly course. The Confederates entrenched themselves on the east bank of this river, to hold it until his material should have crossed, and he occupied a strong position on the 17th, when McClelland's advance came up with them. At 10 o'clock, Carr's division assaulted the works, and carried them with little resistance, capturing some guns, and about 2,000 prisoners, comprising Green's Missouri brigade, and that of General Vaughn. The main body of the enemy, in the meantime, had crossed, and planted his batteries so as to command the bridge, which he then destroyed. In this engagement the Confederate General Tilghman was killed, and General Osterhaus was wounded. The engineer corps immediately began the construction of pontoons, and many were sent to General Sherman on the right, to enable him to cross in the direction of Haines Bluff. He crossed on the 17th, near Bridgeport. The corps of McPherson and McClelland crossed on the 18th, and the advance was resumed. Sherman, on the right, moved upon the Haines Bluff and Spring Dale roads, encountering the advance of Johnston, which retired on the approach of McPherson. The centre followed the Vicksburg and Jackson roads, while McClelland, on the left, took possession of Baldwin's Ferry road, and the division of McArthur closing the road from Warrenton to Vicksburg. On reaching Bovina, General Grant was joined by General Dwight from Banks's army. The three corps now converged around Vicksburg, within supporting distance, and every approach to the place was closed. The whole army encamped in this position, in the open fields, on the night of the 18th.

General Pemberton, on retiring within his works, felt himself unable to defend so long a line as the heights from Vicksburg to Haines Bluff, and ordered the evacuation of the latter place. The troops, and as many of the stores as possible, were removed before our arrival. A squad of cavalry, of General Steele's escort company, found Haines Bluff evacuated, and took possession. A force from Admiral Porter's fleet also landed, and found the place evacuated.

The works of the enemy consisted of a series of redoubts arranged with great skill, and extending from the rear of Haines Bluff round to the Warrenton road, a distance of

ten miles. The ground is singularly broken. It was a vast plateau, upon which a multitude of little hills seem to have been sown broadcast, and of course the rebel redoubts were so disposed as to sweep every neighboring crest, and enfilade every approach.

The corps of General Sherman moved up on the Haines Bluff road, taking possession of the ground which he had once vainly attempted to gain. McPherson advanced on the Jackson road, covering the ground from Sherman's left to the railroad, while McClelland's corps occupied the front from the railroad to the extreme left, Smith's division on the right, Osterhans on the left, and Carr in the reserve.

The action began by a slow fire from our artillery along the whole line, our guns having a pretty long range, and eliciting but feeble response from the enemy.

About noon Osterhans's division advanced to the left, to within about six hundred yards of the enemy's works, to find themselves confronted by fifteen redoubts, with their rifle-pits, which vomited a terrific fire.

At 2 o'clock the order for a general advance was given. This was attempted to be executed, but it was found, on attaining the crest of the ridge, that it was only the first of several ridges which were to be crossed, the ravines between being swept by the guns of the enemy. The advance was checked, and finally the whole line fell back and went into camp. During the night heavy siege-guns were planted, earthworks thrown up, and the light artillery moved nearer. On the 20th, the day was employed in endeavoring to level the enemy's works, by means of artillery, but without success. The 21st was passed in comparative inaction. A regular assault along the whole line was determined for the 22d, or rather three simultaneous assaults by each corps. At 2 o'clock on the morning of that day, heavy guns were opened upon the works to silence the leading batteries, but without much success. Ten o'clock was fixed for the assault, and promptly at the hour the three corps moved forward to the attack, but were met by overwhelming numbers of the intrenched foe. Hundreds of them jumped into the ditches, but the number who reached the parapet was small. Nearly two companies rushed into the fort, and were captured. The flag of the seventh Missouri was planted on the parapet, after seven color-bearers had been shot down. Amid a

terrific storm of bullets and grape-shot, the third brigade advanced, holding their fire to pour into the rifle-pits, after their ascent of the parapet. The enemy gave them volley after volley, as they approached, sending terrible devastation among their ranks.

To the left of Logan, in the centre, General Quimby's division joined in the assault. Like their brave comrades under Stevenson and Smith, their valor and courage was great, but could not accomplish the work assigned them. They were driven back with heavy loss.

The fighting on the left was done by the divisions of Generals Carr, Osterhaus and Smith, and was of a more desperate character, and of longer duration, than that upon the right or centre. McClelland and his men performed their part with energy and determination, but were unable to dislodge the enemy from his works. During the afternoon General Grant received a despatch from McClelland, to the effect that he had taken three forts, and would be in possession of the city soon, if immediately reinforced. McArthur's division of McPherson's corps was sent to his assistance, with two brigades of another division. But McClelland did not take Vicksburg. His representations were incorrect.

The assault on the right was commenced by General Thayer's brigade of Steele's division, consisting of the ninth, fourth, twenty-sixth, and thirtieth Iowa regiments. The men of this command marched forward heroically, under the leadership of Thayer. The assault was made by them at a terrible cost; but the prize had to be abandoned.

General Blair, on the left of the right wing, moved his men forward for the bloody work soon after its commencement by Steele. Assisted by Tuttle's division, they made a desperate charge, but were repulsed with heavy loss.

The Union loss was put at 3,000, and the results very disastrous. The assault was gallant in the extreme, on the part of all the troops; but the enemy's position was too strong, both naturally and artificially, to be taken in that way. At every point assaulted, and at all of them at the same time, the enemy was able to show all the force his works could cover.

The loss of the enemy was comparatively not large, and after the battle, General Pemberton addressed his men as follows:

"You have heard that I was incompetent and a traitor, and that it was my intention to sell Vicksburg. Follow me, and you will see the cost at which I will sell Vicksburg. When the last pound of beef, bacon and flour, the last grain of corn, the last cow, and hog, and horse, and dog, shall have been consumed, and the last man shall have perished in the trenches, then, and only then, will I sell Vicksburg."

It now became evident to the commander that the works could not be carried by assault, and that a regular siege was inevitable to reduce the place. This was at once undertaken, and parallels were commenced against the north-eastern and south-eastern fronts, while every exertion was made to procure reinforcements, and to guard against Johnston, who continued to hover in the neighborhood, slowly gathering a force that might suffice to raise the siege.

If fortifications and natural position alone could avail, Vicksburg might laugh a siege to scorn. Its weakness lies in the fact that communication with the outer world is cut off; the stock of ammunition and food once exhausted, there is no escape from surrender.

The siege was prolonged, by the obstinate defence of the enemy under Pemberton, until the provisions and ammunition being entirely exhausted, surrender became inevitable. General Johnston had been unable to collect a sufficient force to make any serious diversion in favor of the garrison. On the 30th June, however, he made a forward movement, corresponding with an attempted sortie by the enemy on the same day on the Union left. The movement failed. On the 3d, Major-General Bowen, under a flag of truce, brought a sealed despatch for General Grant, proposing to surrender, and the following correspondence took place:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, VICKSBURG, *July 3, 1863.*

"Major-General GRANT, commanding United States forces:

"GENERAL:—I have the honor to propose to you an armistice for — hours, with a view to arranging terms for the capitulation of Vicksburg. To this end, if agreeable to you, I will appoint three commissioners, to meet a like number to be named by yourself, at such place and hour to-day as you may find convenient. I make this proposition to save the further effusion of blood, which must otherwise be shed to a frightful extent, feeling myself fully able to maintain my position for a yet indefinite period. This communication will be handed you under a flag of truce by Major-General James Bowen.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. C. PEMBERTON."

To this General Grant replied as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,

"IN THE FIELD, NEAR VICKSBURG, *July 3, 1863.*

"Lieutenant-General J. C. PEMBERTON, commanding Confederate forces, &c.:

"GENERAL: Your note of this date, just received, proposes an armistice of several hours, for the purpose of arranging terms of capitulation through commissioners to be appointed, &c. The effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose, by an unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will always challenge the respect of an adversary, and I can assure you, will be treated with all the respect due them as prisoners of war. I do not favor the proposition of appointing commissioners to arrange terms of capitulation, because I have no other terms than those indicated above.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*"

GENERAL GRANT'S OFFER FOR THE SURRENDER.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,

"NEAR VICKSBURG, *July 3, 1863.*

"Lieutenant-General J. C. PEMBERTON, commanding Confederate forces, Vicksburg, Miss.:

"GENERAL: In conformity with the agreement of this afternoon, I will submit the following proposition for the surrender of the city of Vicksburg, public stores, &c. On your accepting the terms proposed, I will march in one division, as a guard, and take possession at eight o'clock to-morrow morning. As soon as paroles can be made out and signed by the officers and men, you will be allowed to march out of our lines, the officers taking with them their regimental clothing, and staff, field and cavalry officers one horse each. The rank and file will be allowed all their clothing, but no other property.

"If these conditions are accepted, any amount of rations you may deem necessary can be taken from the stores you now have, and also the necessary cooking utensils for preparing them; thirty wagons also, counting two two-horse or mule teams as one. You will be allowed to transport such articles as cannot be carried along. The same conditions will be allowed to all sick and wounded officers and privates, as fast as they become able to travel. The paroles for these latter must be signed, however, whilst officers are present, authorized to sign the roll of prisoners.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*"

REPLY OF GENERAL PEMBERTON, ACCEPTING ALL THE TERMS OFFERED BY GENERAL GRANT.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, VICKSBURG, *July 3, 1863.*

"Major-General GRANT, commanding United States forces:

"GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, proposing terms for the surrender of this

garrison and post. In the main your terms are accepted; but in justice both to the honor and spirit of my troops, manifested in the defence of Vicksburg, I have the honor to submit the following amendments, which, if acceded to by you, will perfect the agreement between us: At ten o'clock to-morrow I propose to evacuate the works in and around Vicksburg, and to surrender the city and garrison under my command by marching out with my colors and arms, and stacking them in front of my present limits, after which you will take possession; officers to retain their side-arms and personal property, and the rights and property of citizens to be respected.

"I am, General, yours very respectfully,

"J. C. PEMBERTON, *Lieutenant-General.*"

To this General Grant immediately replied as follows:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF TENNESSEE,

"BEFORE VICKSBURG, *July 4, 1863.*

"Lieutenant-General PEMBERTON, commanding forces in Vicksburg:

"GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge your communication of the 3d of July. The amendments proposed by you cannot be acceded to in full. It will be necessary to furnish every officer and man with a parole signed by himself, which, with the completion of the rolls of prisoners, will necessarily take some time. Again, I can make no stipulation with regard to the treatment of citizens and their private property. While I do not propose to cause any of them any undue annoyance or loss, I cannot consent to leave myself under restraint by stipulations. The property which officers can be allowed to take with them will be as stated in the proposition of last evening—that is, that officers will be allowed their private baggage and side-arms, and mounted officers one horse each. If you mean by your proposition for each brigade to march to the front of the lines now occupied by it, and stack their arms at ten o'clock A. M., and then return to the inside and remain as prisoners until properly paroled, I will make no objections to it. Should no modification be made of your acceptance of my terms by nine o'clock A. M., I shall regard them as having been rejected, and act accordingly. Should these terms be accepted, white flags will be displayed along your lines, to prevent such of my troops as may not have been notified from firing on your men.

"I am, General, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

U. S. GRANT, *Major-General, U. S. A.*"

To this the subjoined answer was received:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, VICKSBURG, *July 4, 1863*

"Major-General U. S. GRANT, commanding United States forces,
&c.:

"GENERAL: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this date, and, in reply, to say that the terms proposed by you are accepted.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

"J. C. PEMBERTON, *Lieutenant-General.*"

In accordance with these stipulations the surrender took place, and three hours elapsed before the stacking of arms was completed. At 1 o'clock the seventeenth corps was designated to take possession of the city. It did so amid the most profound gloom; all houses were closed, and no citizens appearing. The refusal of Grant to stipulate for safety of private property had induced fears of a re-enactment of the scenes that had been witnessed elsewhere. The number of prisoners was 27,000. There had been killed and wounded 11,000, stragglers, 8,000. The Union loss was officially reported by General Grant, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Port Gibson.....	130	718	5
Fourteen Mile Creek (skirmish).....	4	24	—
Raymond.....	69	341	32
Jackson.....	40	240	6
Champion's Hill.....	426	1,842	189
Big Black Railroad Bridge.....	29	242	2
Vicksburg.....	545	3,688	303

Of the wounded, many were but slightly wounded, and continued on duty; many more required but a few days or weeks for their recovery. Not more than one half of the wounded were permanently disabled.

There were captured in Vicksburg and during the previous battles, 208 guns and 41,000 muskets.

The causes which have led to this stupendous result may be briefly summed up as follows: The Vicksburg garrison was, in round numbers, thirty thousand at the commencement of the siege. It was driven within the walls of the city after a hopeless attempt to protect their line of railroad communication with Jackson. Defeated, dispirited and worn, they retired within their line of intrenchments, and at once set to work to repair their shattered organization and perfect their defences: In the two or three days which elapsed before Grant's arrival, they rallied. They had their provisions for thirty days left. Unless they could drive off the besiegers within that time, they were inevitably doomed.

Johnston, who had arrived in Central Mississippi in time to find the fragments of a demoralized army, found a herculean task in restoring it to shape and spirit. He was short of artillery, transportation and cavalry, and his supplies he had to draw from great distances.

The insuperable difficulty was the strength of our army, and the great advantage of our position. Once on the top of the Chickasaw ridge, and we were almost impregnable, with our flanks defended by gunboats. The prime cause of the rebel defeat lies with the War Department at Richmond, in draining the South to sustain the Virginia army. The second cause was a mistake in venturing beyond the Big Black River to give battle. This was Pemberton's blunder. What General Grant remarked after the battle of Champion Hills was true. Vicksburg was virtually won then, and the great battle decisive of the fate of the Mississippi Valley, was then delivered and won by our western troops.

The stock of provisions was getting short. Already they were reduced to the offal and dregs of their commissaries. Mule meat, while not eaten as a necessity, had become preferable to their pickled beef. Pork was all gone, flour used up. Corn, unground, for the most part, was left in limited supply. But the worst difficulty was that of ammunition. Only ten percussion caps to the man were found in their pouches. Originally short, they had received forty-two thousand through the lines since the investment. Of cartridges they had very few.

Their medicines were scanty. Nearly six thousand men in hospital, and continually exposed to the dangers of plunging shells; delicate women and children crying for bread, and wailing for the loss of friends around them. It must have been a strong heart that could have held out longer.

One cause for determining the time was undoubtedly the apprehension that on the 4th General Grant would attack. The result would be the sack and pillage of the city and great slaughter. The capitulation avoided all, without loss of honor.

The following is a chronological record of the siege of Vicksburg, from its first inception:

May 12, 1862.—Flag-officer Farragut demands the surrender.

June 28.—Farragut passes Vicksburg with his fleet.

June 23.—United naval attack upon.

June 24.—Naval siege raised by Farragut.

December 28.—General Sherman defeated.

January 2, 1863.—General Sherman withdraws from.

January 22, 1863.—General McClelland prepares for siege operations.

February 4.—General Grant arrives.

February 18.—General Grant commences bombardment.

March 21.—Admiral Farragut arrives.

March 25.—Two gunboats run past.

April 16.—Six gunboats run past.

April 27.—Fire opened from peninsula batteries.

April 29.—Admiral Porter shells and passes Grand Gulf.

April 30.—General Grant lands at Bowlinburg, and moves on Port Gibson.

May 3.—Grand Gulf and Port Gibson captured.

May 12.—Engagement and victory at Raymond.

May 13.—Battle at Mississippi Springs.

May 14.—Occupation of Jackson.

May 16.—Battle of Baker's Creek.

May 17.—Battle of Big Black River bridge.

May 16.—Evacuation of Jackson by General Grant.

May 18.—General Grant invests Vicksburg.

May 18.—Haines and Chickasaw bluffs captured

May 19.—General Steele carries the rifle-pits, and General Grant's right and left rests upon the river.

May 22.—An unsuccessful assault made by General Grant.

July 4.—Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant.

This short campaign of General Grant, so eminently successful, relieved the deep gloom in which the Union cause was at that moment enveloped. A succession of defeats had resulted in the invasion of Pennsylvania, and in all sections the tendency of affairs was adverse to the Federal arms. A certain degree of despondency was beginning to be apparent at the North, and dissatisfaction with the Washington Administration was more decided. The defeat of Lee at Gettysburgh was the first gleam of light, but the defeat would have had no fruits had not the news of the fall of Vicksburg decided General Lee to retreat. Meantime the strongest efforts had been made to have General Grant removed. The "pressure" upon the President was beginning to be effective, when success began to attend General Grant. The moment the fall of Vicksburg was announced, however, both Secretary Stanton and General Halleck publicly claimed each the credit of victory. This question was, however, set at rest by the following letter from the President:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, *July 13, 1863.*

"Major-General GRANT:—

"MY DEAR GENERAL—I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgment for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg,

I thought you should do what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition and the like could succeed. When you got below, and took Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join General Banks, and when you turned northward east of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgment that you were right and I was wrong.

“A. LINCOLN.”

While these events were taking place in the immediate neighborhood of Vicksburg, a remarkable cavalry raid was executed by Colonel Grierson, of the Illinois cavalry. On the 17th of April following that on which the gunboats ran the Vicksburg batteries, Colonel Grierson's corps, consisting of the sixth and seventh Illinois, and first Iowa cavalry, numbering 1,700 men, left Lagrange, Tennessee, for the enemy's country. They took a southerly course running parallel with the Mobile and Ohio railroad, until they were in the latitude of Vicksburg, when they struck a southwesterly course, and reached Baton Rouge on the 2d of May, having travelled 800 miles. In their course through the enemy's country they had numerous encounters, killing and wounding numbers of the enemy, and taking hundreds of prisoners, horses, and blacks—subsisted themselves—destroyed millions of property in bridges and trestles, some 200 cars, ammunition, stores, clothing—played havoc with the telegraphs and three principal railroads, by which the beleaguered troops on the Mississippi depended altogether for communication and aid from the interior, and which would take them many weeks to repair, even if they had the facilities—and all this with the miraculously small loss of only one killed and six wounded.

This daring feat produced great satisfaction at the north generally, and was received as an offset to some of the cavalry inroads of the enemy.

CHAPTER XL.

Expedition of General Banks.—Relieves Butler.—Bayou Teche.—Port Hudson.—Assault.—Repulse.—Critical Condition.—Enemy Capture Brashear City.—Second Attack.—Repulse.—General Order.—Volunteers.—Burying the Dead.—New Batteries.—Short Rations.—Mule Meat.—Phenomenon.—Offers to Treat.—Capitulation.—Captures.—Chronology of Events.

EARLY in the month of December an expedition, which had long been in preparation with the utmost secrecy, left New York under the command of Major-General Banks. The public were not aware of the destination and objects of the expedition until, on the 15th of December, it arrived at New Orleans, and General Banks superseded General Butler, whose conduct and policy had become altogether distasteful to the government as well as to public sentiment. General Butler took the opportunity of his removal to address to the people of New Orleans a document intended as a defence of his administration. General Banks, on assuming the command of the department, immediately took possession of Baton Rouge, which had been abandoned by the troops of Butler, and proceeded to carry out his special object, that of opening the Mississippi. The administration of this department underwent an entire change, indicating that the policy pursued by General Butler was not that of the government; while under Banks justice was evenly administered, and citizens were protected in their persons, there was far less trade, because General Banks enforced the laws in relation to intercourse with the enemy, while under Butler a large traffic was connived at for pecuniary considerations. Soon after General Banks was in command, General Neal Dow, formerly mayor of Portland, and author of the Maine Liquor Law, in 1854, was cited to appear before the Sixth District court of New Orleans, Judge Howell, to answer a charge preferred against him of stealing silver-ware to the value of \$160. The charge was preferred by Bradish

Johnson, a native of New York, and a citizen of the United States. Other charges were preferred and sustained to the extent of \$1,800.

Preparations were soon in progress for a movement up the river against Port Hudson, which barred the ascent of the river as Vicksburg did the descent. Port Hudson is the Gibraltar of the lower Mississippi. It is in East Feliciana parish, Louisiana, on the left bank of the Mississippi, about 156 miles by river above New Orleans, and twenty-five miles above Baton Rouge. Although a small village, it was noted for its extensive shipment of cotton and sugar, drawn chiefly from Mississippi by the Clinton railroad. The fortifications were immensely strong, and the Confederates were confident of successfully resisting any force likely to be sent against them. Between Port Hudson and Vicksburg they had perfect control of 250 miles of the Mississippi, and it was through this territory that they were constantly receiving supplies of beef-cattle and other necessities from Texas. The river, as at Vicksburg, makes a bend opposite the city, but not so sharp, and the batteries on the bluffs for four miles command the passage. The rear of the city is swampy, intersected with ravines, and very difficult of access. The place was fortified with the most admirable skill, and defended by 20,000 men, mostly from Western Texas, under the command of Van Dorn and Lovell.

On the 13th of March, simultaneously with the departure of Farragut's fleet, the army of General Banks left Baton Rouge for Port Hudson. The object of the movement at that time was only to make a diversion in favor of the fleet, and not a serious attack upon Port Hudson. A detached force, under Colonel Molineaux, diverged from the main body to keep clear the Clinton road on the right. At Cypress Bayou bridge the advance encountered the enemy's force, which retired, after a short skirmish, with a loss of eleven killed and wounded. The main army was in three divisions, under Generals Augur, Grover, and Emory. On receiving the route, Grover's division moved at 4 o'clock P. M., Emory's at 7, and Augur's at 3 on the following morning; at 2 P. M. of the 14th the advance reached Springfield cross roads, within five miles of Port Hudson, and bivouacked for the night, during which the guns from in front of Port Hudson, where Farragut was forcing his pas-

sage, were distinctly heard. In the morning, the Hartford and Albatross having passed up, General Banks declared the object of his movement accomplished, and ordered a return to Baton Rouge, greatly to the disgust of the troops.

In the month of April an expedition was organized to operate in the region of the Bayou Teche. It is one of the most fertile regions of Louisiana, and numbers of salt works and founderies were there situated, which it was supposed necessary to take possession of. The supplies for Port Hudson were mostly drawn from that region, and to cut the connection was supposed to be a necessary preliminary of reducing that place. The expedition under General Grover was quite successful. The Queen of the West had run into the Atchafalaya, and was thus destroyed. After the gratifying results of the expedition, preparations were made to renew the attack upon Port Hudson, and, on the 20th of May, the day after the investment of Vicksburg began, the troops of General Banks began a march upon Port Hudson. General Augur leading, a detachment of the enemy (400 cavalry, under Colonel Miles) were encountered at Port Hudson Plains, on the Bayou Sara road, four miles in the rear of Port Hudson. After a sharp skirmish, the enemy fell back, with a loss of thirty killed and forty wounded. All the enemy's troops were then drawn within the fortifications. The Union troops advanced to the regular investment of the place, May 22d. As the forces of General Banks, numbering nearly 45,000, successively arrived and took position, the lines were drawn closely around the enemy's position. The force of the enemy was represented at 13,000, under General Gardner. There were two boats, the Starlight and Red Chief, moored just above Port Hudson, in the Big Sandy Creek, that ran into the Mississippi. To destroy those boats, General Banks despatched the seventh Illinois cavalry, under Colonel Price, who executed the order on the 25th. This cut off water communication, and the place was now encircled by land. Commencing at the extreme northwestern end of Port Hudson, and stretching round in a southeasterly direction, the whole army was placed. Brigadier-General Grover, with the commands of Brigadier-Generals Dwight, Paine, Dudley and Weitzel, occupied the right, while Major-General Augur occupied the centre, and Brigadier-

General Sherman the left wing—the entire line extending over a space of several miles.

Preparations being thus made, at dawn on the 27th the guns along the whole line opened on the devoted place. The force of General Augur, in the centre, was composed of the first brigade, under command of Colonel Chapin, comprising the one hundred and sixteenth New York, forty-eighth and forty-ninth Massachusetts, and twenty-first Maine; the third, under Colonel Dudley, composed of the second Louisiana (negroes), one hundred and seventy-fourth New York, one hundred and sixty-first New York, thirtieth and fiftieth Massachusetts; the second Vermont battery, under Captain Holcomb, company G, of the fifth United States artillery, under Lieutenant Rawles, fourth Massachusetts battery, under Lieutenant Reinhardt, one section of Mack's battery, in charge of Lieutenant Fuller, and two companies of the first Louisiana cavalry (negroes), under Captains Godfrey and Yeaton.

On arriving at their encampment in the woods, within a mile and a quarter of the fortifications, which they did on the 24th, at 9 A. M., Captain Godfrey's cavalry was sent out to open a communication with General Sherman on the left. At 9 A. M. the enemy opened fire on them. General Augur had in position eight 30-pound Parrotts and one battery of 20-pound Parrotts of the twenty-first Indiana. Beside these they had the eighteenth New York battery of 20-pound Parrotts, the second Vermont battery of Sawyer guns, and the fourth Massachusetts light 12-pound brass field-pieces, also the fifth United States regular battery of 12-pound brass field-pieces. They replied to the enemy's fire at 1,600 yards.

The cannonade continued until 1 o'clock, when orders were given to slacken the fire, as preparations were made for an assault on the enemy's left, which was commanded by Colonel Steadman. It was arranged for a simultaneous assault by General Sherman on the left, who was not ready until half past two. The line moved through the woods in their immediate front, and came upon a plain on the far side of which half a mile distant were the Confederate batteries. The field was covered with recently felled trees, through the interlaced branches of which the troops were to advance in face of shot, shell and grape. The field officers dismounted to lead, since horses could

not advance in such obstacles. The advance commenced, and for two hours, viz., from 3 to 5 p. m., the men braved the storm and shot while struggling through the obstacles for an impossible task. They were then withdrawn. Among those who advanced was Colonel Bartlett, who, having lost a leg, was compelled to go on horseback or not at all. The enemy were so struck with his bravery that orders were issued not to shoot him. On the left the attack of General Sherman, somewhat later in the day, met with the same results. The column retired after suffering heavy loss; General Sherman himself losing a leg. On the right the attack included the black troops, who for the first time were brought into action. Their forces consisted of the first Louisiana Native Guards (with black field officers), under Lieutenant-Colonel Bassett, and the third Louisiana Native Guards, Colonel Nelson (with white field officers), the whole under the charge of the latter officer. On going into action they were 1,800 strong, and formed into four lines, Lieutenant-Colonel Bassett first Louisiana, forming the first line, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Finnigas the second.

This command was alleged to have suffered much, and to have stood firmly. In the enemy's account of the affair it was claimed that the blacks fled at the first fire without discharging a gun. The official returns after the affair did not, however, show a heavy loss. The whole loss of the army in this terrible assault was very large, between three and four thousand. The loss of the enemy was reported on their side at 600. On the 28th, General Banks sent a flag proposing a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of burying the dead, which was granted.

The state of affairs now began to change very perceptibly, and the position of General Banks became critical. The troops with which he left the north in December were mostly nine months men; green troops, one fourth of whose time had expired before they arrived in the department, and who then required instruction and drill before they could be of use in the field. The three years men that General Banks found in the department were injured veterans, but their ranks had been greatly thinned by battle and disease. When the attacks upon Hudson began the time of the majority was drawing to a close. This force had now sustained a terrible defeat before the ene-

my's works, than which none stronger exist. Port Hudson vied with Vicksburg in strength and capabilities of defence.

The position of General Grant's army was not much different. The two armies of Banks and Grant were exposed to the malaria of an unhealthy location, and compelled to drink the peculiarly unwholesome waters of the Big Black, and the heat of the season was rapidly approaching. In the mean time, the Mississippi had fallen twenty-eight feet, a very unusual depression, interfering with the efficiency of the gunboats and the means of obtaining supplies. The Confederate armies were also organizing and moving upon the Union communications flank and rear. General Johnston, it was supposed, continued to gather force on the north-east of Vicksburg, pressing Grant's rear and forcing him to intrench. While Price and Marmaduke, with 26,000 men, were at Helena, and General Walker of General Dick Taylor's army, held Young's Point with 7,000 men, thus threatening Grant's supplies. At the same time, Buckner, with 12,000 men, and Breckinridge, with 17,000, were closing upon Banks's rear. The head-quarters of E. Kirby Smith were at Shreveport, and had communication with the Red, Black, and Texas rivers. The Mississippi was freely crossed at Natchez. General Green was on the peninsula opposite Port Hudson with 3,000 men. General Magruder, with General Moulton and Dick Taylor was in the Attakapas country with 20,000 men. General Moulton, with 7,000, was at Franklin. The whole Opelousas country had been lost to the Union army, and the remnant of Banks's force, which had been left at Brashear city, was threatened by the operations of a cavalry force under Dick Taylor, who captured several steamers, also a number of northern cotton merchants at Plaquemine, and then taking possession of Butte station on the Opelousas railroad. By this movement Brashear city was cut off, while a Confederate force of 5,000 occupied Berwick city.

The whole attacking force of the enemy was placed at 15,000, under Generals Taylor, Moulton, and Green, on the 22d of June. The force at Berwick city opened fire from two small pieces of artillery. The attention of our gunners at Fort Buchanan was drawn to them, and after a few shots they were apparently dispersed. This was a

ruse on the part of the enemy; for scarcely had our soldiers been placed in position to resist any advance of the enemy from that place, when they were suddenly surprised by a large force which had during the night crossed Lake Palourde, and come up in their rear. They entered the town, and the union men surrendered without making any very determined resistance. Our loss on this occasion was large, including a camp of about six hundred convalescent soldiers. The enemy, also, by the capture of our force, gained possession of Fort Buchanan and Fort Schene, and another smaller earthwork further down the bay. On these fortifications were mounted eighteen or twenty guns of heavy calibre, several of which were the finest rifled pieces we had in the department. They also captured 1,800 prisoners, including thirty-three commissioned officers, commissary stores to the value of \$3,000,000, quartermaster's stores \$1,500,000, ordnance stores \$250,000, medical stores \$100,000, twenty-three garrison and regimental flags, 1,000 tents, 2,000 horses and mules, 7,000 negroes, 7,000 stand of small arms, sixteen siege guns, and a position as important as Port Hudson or Vicksburg. This disaster extinguished the union possession of Louisiana west of the Mississippi.

Meantime the enemy actively operated upon the communication between New Orleans and Port Hudson. A quantity of supplies for Banks's army was captured fifty miles above New Orleans. Donaldsonville was invaded. General Banks was compelled to invigorate his operations, and great efforts were made to concentrate all available troops at Port Hudson, and to recruit the black regiments. In the latter very little success was met with.

The deserters and prisoners from Port Hudson generally alleged that the place was on short allowance, but the appearance of the men belied these assertions. Occasional despatches were captured asserting that the garrison could not hold out beyond a fixed time. These rumors and despatches had the air of *ruse*, to induce Banks to waste his men in attacks. The general situation was such, however, as to induce the Union general to hasten a crisis, since the starvation process promised but little success, and his own position was becoming critical. At length, on the 13th June, a demand for the surrender of the place was made and refused, and a new attack was determined

for the 14th. The plan comprised a main attack by General Grover, who was to force the works in front, while Generals Dwight and Augur were to make feigned attacks on the extreme left. These two attacks were made with a loss of 300 men. The attack of General Grover was formed as follows: the seventy-fifth New York, under command of Captain Cray, and the twelfth Connecticut, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Peck, were detailed as skirmishers, forming a separate command under Lieutenant-Colonel Babcock, of the seventy-fifth New York. The ninety-first New York, Colonel Van Zandt commanding, each soldier carrying a five-pound hand grenade, with his musket thrown over his shoulder, followed next in order. The skirmishers were to creep up and lie on the exterior slope of the enemy's breastworks, while the regiment carrying the grenades were to come up to the same position and throw over the grenades into the enemy's lines, with a view to rout them and drive them from behind their works. The twenty-fourth Connecticut, Colonel Mansfield, with their arms in like manner to the grenade regiment, followed, carrying sand-bags filled with cotton, which were to be used to fill up the ditch in front of the enemy's breastworks, to enable the assaulting party the more easily to scale them and charge upon the rebels. Following these different regiments came General Weitzel's whole brigade, under command of Colonel Smith, of the one hundred and fourteenth New York. This command consisted of the eighth Vermont, Lieutenant-Colonel Dillingham; the one hundred and fourteenth New York, Major Morse; and the one hundred and sixteenth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Von Petten. Next came Colonel Kimble's and Colonel Morgan's brigades, under the general command of Colonel Birge. This force was held to support the assaulting column, which was under the immediate command of General Weitzel, who made the attack on the right. General Emory's old division moved in conjunction with General Weitzel on the left, forming a separate column. The two divisions, Weitzel's and General Paine's, were under command of General Grover. The ground to be gone over by the column was of a formidable nature. First, for 100 yards, an abatis of felled trees, then a ditch forty feet wide, with six feet of water in it; then a glacis about twenty feet

high, sloping gradually to the parapet, on which is a protection for the sharpshooters; behind, one hundred yards distant, was another line of works on which field and heavy artillery was mounted. At daylight, General Grover's command were formed in the woods skirting the enemy's position, and 300 yards distant from the works. The skirmishers then advanced, deployed right and left at the point to be attacked, and suffering severely from the enemy's fire. The whole command in motion followed. The fire of the Richmond in the river opened at the same time upon the place. As the troops left the shelter of the woods, they encountered a sharp fire from the enemy. The skirmishers pushed on in the hope that on reaching the ditch they should be able to keep the enemy down so that the advancing grenadiers should be able to perform their part of the work. The seventy-fifth New York reached the ditch, but found it so enfiladed that nearly all were either killed or wounded. The grenadiers on coming up, threw their grenades over the rebel breast-works, but the enemy actually caught them and hurled them back among us. In the mean time, while the skirmishers were nobly endeavoring to sustain themselves in their position, General Weitzel's column moved up rapidly as possible and made a series of desperate assaults on the enemy's works. At this time, the sun having fairly risen, the fight became general. A fog, which had partially obscured the contending armies, lifted and revealed their respective positions. The enemy was fully prepared for us, and they lined every part of their fortifications with heavy bodies of infantry. The battle had begun in earnest, and General Paine's column as well as General Weitzel's was actively engaged. Colonel Smith was killed leading the first assault of Weitzel's brigade. Lieutenant-Colonel Von Petten, of the one hundred and sixtieth New York, immediately took command of the brigade, and gallantly led the charge until all further hope of forcing the position was gone. Brigade after brigade followed in rapid succession storming the works, until compelled to fall back under the terrible fire of the enemy. They were all eventually repulsed with great slaughter.

The fighting ceased at 11 o'clock in the morning; the soldiers, under command of their officers, laid themselves down under shelter of the gullies, trees, covered way, in

fact, every thing that could afford them protection, and waited for the day to pass and darkness to come on. At nightfall, however, we commenced the burial of our dead, and succeeded before the morning in carrying most of our wounded from the battle ground. Among the Union losses were General Paine and five colonels. The loss in killed and wounded was over 2,000. On the following day General Banks issued the following order:

“HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
“NINETEENTH ARMY CORPS,
“BEFORE PORT HUDSON, *June 15th, 1863.*

“The Commanding General congratulates the troops before Port Hudson upon the steady advance made upon the enemy's works, and is confident of an immediate and triumphant issue of the contest. We are at all points on the threshold of his fortifications. One more advance and they are ours. For the last duty that victory imposes the Commanding General summons the field men of the corps to the organization of a storming column of a thousand men, to vindicate the flag of the Union, and the memory of its defenders who have fallen. Let them come forward. Officers who lead the column of victory in this last assault may be assured of just recognition of their services by promotion; and every officer and soldier who shares its perils and its glory shall receive a medal fit to commemorate the first grand success of the campaign of 1863 for the freedom of the Mississippi. His name shall be placed in general orders upon the roll of honor. Division commanders will at once report the names of the officers and men who may volunteer for this service, in order that the organization of the column may be completed without delay.

“By command of Major-General BANKS.
“RICHARD B. IRWIN, *Assistant Adjutant-General.*”

The call was responded to by the fourth Wisconsin and the sixth Michigan, by which regiments the attack was made, resulting in the repulse and capture of nearly the whole assaulting force. On the 17th, as the dead were still unburied, a flag came in to General Banks with a request that the Union troops would remove their dead. Banks replied that he had no dead there. General Gardner then desired General Beale to send a flag to General Augur and request him to bury the dead of his division, which lay in front of the first and forty-ninth. Augur replied that he did not think he had any dead there, but he would grant a cessation of hostilities to ascertain. Accordingly, two hundred and sixty odd were removed from that portion of the works, and with them one wounded man who had been lying there three days without water,

and was fly-blown from head to foot. Elsewhere, none were buried, and the bodies of the slain could be seen from the breastworks on the day of the surrender, twenty-six days after the fight.

The siege was now continued vigorously, batteries were erected across the river, and well served by United States regulars. One hundred and fifty paces from the enemy's extreme right seventeen columbiads, eight and ten-inch, were established, another of seven pieces in the centre, and one of six guns on the left. From these a heavy fire was maintained day and night with little loss of life to the enemy, but disabling most of his artillery. About the 20th of June the meat rations gave out, and mules were butchered for the use of the garrison, who also devoured rats. Soon after the ammunition began to fail. At this time a remarkable circumstance occurred at midnight, supposed the effect of an earthquake. The water commenced running up stream, and in half an hour rose six feet. In one place about twenty feet of the bluff disappeared, carrying away one of the enemy's river batteries. The roar of the water could be heard like distant thunder. Amid these accumulating difficulties the time wore on to the 7th of July, when the following correspondence took place:

"GENERAL GARDNER TO GENERAL BANKS.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, PORT HUDSON,
"LOUISIANA, July 7, 1863.

"GENERAL:—Having received information from your troops that Vicksburg has been surrendered, I make this communication to ask you to give me the official assurance whether this is true or not, and if true, I ask for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to the consideration of terms for surrendering this position.

"I am, General, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"FRANK GARDNER,

"Major-General Commanding C. S. Forces.

"To Major-General BANKS, Commanding U. S. Forces, near Port Hudson."

"GENERAL BANKS TO GENERAL GARDNER.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF GULF,
"BELOW PORT HUDSON, July 8, 1863.

"GENERAL:—In reply to your communication, dated the 7th inst., by flag of truce received a few moments since, I have the honor to inform you that I received yesterday morning, July 7th, at 10.45 o'clock, by the gunboat General Price, an official despatch from Major-

General Ulysses S. Grant, U. S. Army, whereof the following is a true extract:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE TENNESSEE,
"NEAR VICKSBURG, *July 4, 1863.*

"Major-General N. P. BANKS, commanding the Department of the Gulf:

"GENERAL:—The garrison of Vicksburg surrendered this morning. The number of prisoners, as given by the officer, is 27,000, field artillery 128 pieces, and a large number of siege guns, probably not less than eighty.

"Your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*

"I regret to say that under present circumstances I cannot consistently with my duty consent to a cessation of hostilities for the purpose you indicate.

"Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"N. P. BANKS, *Major-General Commanding.*

"To Major-General FRANK GARDNER, *Commanding C. S. Forces, Port Hudson.*"

The Confederate garrison having now become exhausted, even their mules, and their ammunition being no more than twenty rounds per man, there was now no longer any hope of relief. Vicksburg surrendered, which gave the Federals the advantage of the Mississippi to transport troops from that point to Port Hudson, the reduction of the latter place, in a very few days, followed as a matter of course.

The following capitulation was signed July 8th:

"ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

"*Article 1.*—Major-General Frank Gardner surrendered to the United States forces under Major-General Banks, the place of Port Hudson and its dependencies, with its garrison, armament, munitions, public funds, material of war, in the condition, as nearly as may be, in which they were at the hour of cessation of hostilities, namely, 6 o'clock A. M., July 8th, 1863.

"*Article 2.*—The surrender stipulated in Article 1, is qualified by uncondition, save that the officers and enlisted men composing the garrison shall receive the treatment due to prisoners of war, according to the usages of civilized warfare.

"*Article 3.*—All private property of officers and enlisted men shall be inspected and left to their respective owners.

"*Article 4.*—The position of Port Hudson shall be occupied tomorrow, at 9 o'clock A. M., by the forces of the United States, and its garrison received as prisoners of war by such general officers of the United States service as may be designated by Major-General Banks, with the ordinary formalities of rendition. The Confederate troops will be drawn up in line, officers in their positions, the right of the

line resting on the edge of the prairie south of the railroad dépôt, the left extending in the direction of the village of Port Hudson. The arms and colors will be piled conveniently, and will be received by the officers of the United States.

"Article 5.—The sick and wounded of the garrison will be cared for by the authorities of the United States, assisted, if desired, by either party of the medical officers of the garrison.

"CHARLES P. STONE, Brigadier-General.

"W. N. MILES, Colonel Commanding Right Wing of the Army.

"WM. DWIGHT, Brigadier-General.

"G. W. STEDMAN, Colonel Commanding the Left Wing of the Army.

"MARSHAL J. SMITH, Lieutenant-Colonel, Chief Artillery.

"HENRY W. BIRGE, Colonel Commanding Fifth Brigade, Grover's Division.

"(Approved)

N. P. BANKS, *Major-General.*

"(Approved)

FRANK GARDNER, *Major-General.*"

The place was taken possession of accordingly, July 9th, at 7 A. M. As the victors entered, they found the Confederates all drawn up in line of battle, with arms stacked in front of them, and the hungry soldiers of General Gardner were soon well fed from the commissariat of the Union army, from which 6,000 rations were drawn. The number of rebel soldiers drawn up in line when the surrender took place, was about 4,000. In addition to this number there were about 1,500 sick and wounded; the wounded numbered about 500. The wounds are generally very severe, in the head, and by the bullets of our sharpshooters. The enemy's report was 200 killed, 517 wounded, and 6,000 prisoners.

The number of guns taken was fifty, of which, however, all but fifteen had been dismounted by the Union fire. The capture of small arms was nearly 40,000, including great numbers that had been gathered by the enemy when burying the Union dead.

The following despatch was received at Washington :

"VICKSBURG, Miss., July 11, 1863—3 P. M.

"Major-General HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

"The following despatch has been received from General Banks:

"BEFORE PORT HUDSON, July 8, 1863.

"GENERAL:—The Mississippi is now opened. I have the honor to inform you that the garrison of Port Hudson surrendered unconditionally this afternoon. We shall take formal possession at 7 o'clock in the morning.

"(Signed)

N. P. BANKS, *Major-General.*"

"U. S. GRANT, *Major-General.*"

The following is a chronological record of the opera-

tions against Port Hudson from the first movements of General Banks and the fleet :

April 12, 1863.—General Banks moves from Brashear city and attacks Patersonville.

April 13, 1863.—Patersonville captured by General Banks.

April 20, 1863.—General Banks captures Bute La Rose and Opelousas.

April 21, 1863.—General Banks occupies Washington, La.

May 7, 1863.—General Banks's advance occupies Alexandria.

May 8, 9 and 10, 1863.—The mortar boats bombard Port Hudson.

May 12, 1863.—Reconnoissance in the rear of Port Hudson by General Dudley.

May 13, 1863.—General Dudley makes another reconnoissance within a mile and a half of the works.

May 21, 1863.—General Augur's brigade has an engagement at Port Hudson.

May 23, 1863.—General Banks lands above Port Hudson, forms a junction with his main body, and closely invests the place.

May 27, 1863.—General Banks opens a combined assault, the gunboats participating.

June 14, 1863.—General Banks summons General Gardner to surrender, and upon being refused commences a furious assault, which is repulsed.

June 15, 1863.—General Banks announces that he will renew the assault, and calls for a forlorn hope.

July 8, 1863.—Port Hudson surrenders unconditionally.

These two great events, the fall of Vicksburg and the surrender of Port Hudson, finished the Confederate occupation of the Mississippi river, and left that mighty stream open to the free passage of vessels from the north-west to the ocean. Thus, as far as the force of arms goes, redeeming the promise of the great North-West to open the river.

CHAPTER XLI.

Army of the Potomac.—General Hooker.—His Position.—Composition of the Army.—Position of the Enemy.—Campaign Plan.—Stoneman.—Movement.—Crossing of the River.—Chancellorsville.—Attack of the 2d May.—Wilderness.—Chancellorsville.—Rout of the Eleventh Corps.—Change of Front.—Sedgwick Charges Hill.—Salem Church.—Retreat.—Stoneman.—Averill.—Retreat of the Army.—Results.

AFTER many months of delay, caused by the state of the roads, and the necessity of thorough preparation for so arduous a campaign as the march upon Richmond was likely to prove, General Hooker finally completed his arrangements, and with the improved state of the roads was prepared to march. This was the more necessary that a large portion of his army was composed of two years and nine months men, whose terms of service were about to expire, and as yet no measures had been taken to supply their places. He had, to use his own words, "the finest army on the planet," raised to that state of perfection by the profuse supply of all descriptions of munitions of war, and long months of camp instruction. He had the experience of General McDowell's campaign, of General McClellan's Richmond peninsular campaign, of Pope's Manassas campaign, of the Maryland campaign, and of General Burnside's Fredericksburg campaign, to guide him. He was conducting the fifth attempt upon Richmond. He knew fully the ground over which he was to travel, the enemy with whom he had to deal; that in General Lee he had a skilful strategist, and in his army a powerful host of veterans to overcome. General Hooker thus possessed all the advantages of personal training, experience, observation and knowledge which a good leader, with his superior army, could reasonably ask, in order to insure complete success to his great enterprise. The confidence of the government and the hopes of the country were with him.

The published testimony of General Hooker before the War Committee placed him, indeed, in a position of peculiar responsibility. He had undertaken to show that the failure of the Richmond campaign of the previous summer was the result of the want of generalship on the part of McClellan; that such veteran soldiers as Sumner and Heintzelman may be classed among old women; that Burnside, with his extreme rashness, was as much at fault at Fredericksburg as was McClellan at Yorktown with his extreme caution; that General Hooker, in the supreme command, could have marched into Richmond on a dozen different occasions without difficulty; could have captured the Heights of Fredericksburg without much loss, and bagged or destroyed the whole army at Antietam; after all these declarations as a responsible officer, the public had acquired the right to hold him to strict accountability, and the moment for action had at last arrived. The enemy under Lee and Jackson still held Fredericksburg, and the formidable works which had been so fatal to Burnside in December. The force of the enemy was, however, a matter of conjecture. It was known that numbers of troops, including Longstreet's command, had been sent to Suffolk and North Carolina to assist the operations there, and it was supposed that detachments had been made in other directions. It was also known that the main connection of the army at Fredericksburg was by railroad direct with Richmond and south-westerly by Gordonsville. That without those connections the Confederates could neither retreat nor receive supplies to maintain their position. The campaign was based on these facts. It was determined to send a sufficient cavalry force under Stoneman by a circuitous route to come in the rear of the Confederates and cut the bridges which cross the North Anna on the Gordonsville road and South Anna rivers on the Fredericksburg road. The former, 150 long and eighty feet high, if effectually destroyed, would require a fortnight to replace, a time which, well employed, would be fatal to Lee. At the same time a portion of the army was to attack Fredericksburg in front, to turn the right of the enemy, while the main force, crossing above, should come in on the Gordonsville road, thus closing the remaining outlet and reducing the enemy to surrender in case of defeat, while Hooker would still have his retreat open in case of

disaster. The dispositions were made to carry out this plan. The army of Hooker was composed of seven army corps of about 20,000 men, in three divisions each. These were the first, Reynolds, second, Couch, third, Sickles, fifth, Meade, sixth, Sedgwick, eleventh, Howard (late Sigel), and the twelfth, Slocum.

On the morning of April 27th, the eleventh army corps, Howard, formerly Sigel, and composed of the German divisions of Schurz, Steinwehr and Devin, broke up their encampments and marched for Kelly's ford of the Rappahannock, near the line of the Manassas and Gordonsville railroad, and twenty-five miles west of Fredericksburg. The troops crossed immediately on reaching the ford. The twelfth and fifth army corps crossed at the United States ford, nearer Fredericksburg. The three corps under General Slocum, General Williams, having command of the twelfth, being south of the river, turned eastward and marched down the narrow strip of land between the Rapidan and the Rappahannock for Chancellorsville nine miles, from Fredericksburg. The Germania ford, on the Rapidan, was reached at noon by the fifth corps on the left. The Pennsylvania cavalry pushed on towards Fredericksburg, but were met by the enemy six miles from the junction of the turnpike with the plank road, and driven back. Meantime the second and third corps had crossed by the United States ford and joined the other corps. Thus the entire army of the Potomac, with the exception of the single division under General Sedgwick, which was left behind at the former position near Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, had crossed the Rappahannock, and having turned the left of the enemy, had gained his rear and were concentrated near Chancellorsville. At this time General Hooker, in the excess of this confidence, issued the following order:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., *April 30, 1863.*

"It is with heartfelt satisfaction that the General Commanding announces to the army that the operations of the last three days have determined that our enemy must ingloriously fly, or come out from behind his defences, and give us battle on our own ground, where certain destruction awaits him.

"The operations of the fifth, eleventh and twelfth corps have been a series of splendid successes.

"By command of
"S. WILLIAMS, *Adjutant-General.*"

Major-General HOOKER.

The effect of this movement of the army was to turn the formidable works behind Fredericksburg, the assault of which had cost Burnside so dearly in December, and threaten the communication of the enemy with Gordonsville, that being his only line of retreat in case the mission of Stoneman to cut the bridges over the North and South Anna rivers should prove successful, and compel him to fight on ground chosen by Hooker. It resulted that the enemy was compelled to leave his works to clear the route to Gordonsville. He was, however, by no means unaware of the movements of Hooker, since the Richmond papers published the movements of the Union troops as soon as they were made. The troops were got as rapidly into position as circumstances would permit, and on the second of May the main force held the position of Chancellorsville in the following order. Meade's fifth corps held the extreme left on the Rappahannock, near Scott's dam, facing east, on his right, Couch's corps, also facing east, with its right on Chancellorsville, which is a single house at the junction of a plank road and a turnpike leading from Fredericksburg to Gordonsville, ten miles south-west from Fredericksburg.

The road to Gordonsville continues a south-westerly course, and to the south of this road and parallel with it was the twelfth corps, with its left on Chancellorsville, the third on its right, and the eleventh was on the extreme right. Thus the fifth and second formed a line facing east, and the third, twelfth, and eleventh a line of five miles facing south, forming an angle with the other line. Chancellorsville was the key of the place, and there were Hooker's head-quarters. The eleventh corps had its extreme right in a densely wooded land covered with the closest under growth, and considered unassailable. The Union troops immediately began, May 1, to fortify the whole position, to await the development of the secondary movements—those of Stoneman and Sedgwick.

On the morning of the 2d, a force of the enemy approached the centre of the position by the plank road, skirted by a piece of wood, coming from Fredericksburg, directly in front of the Union position, attacking the second corps. The battery of Knapp opened upon them and caused them to return. In the afternoon they again approached in force, when Geary's division of Stoneman's

twelfth corps, which was posted at right angles with the second corps, was sent into the woods to flank the advance. They encountered a sharp fire, when Kane's brigade broke in disorder, throwing the whole column into confusion. The retiring troops were drawn to the right of the road in order that the artillery might play upon the advancing enemy. This it did with effect, when he retired. This seems to have been a feint, however, since during the night the enemy had cut a road through the woods which were on the right front of Howard at Wilderness, fifteen miles southwest of Fredericksburg, and while the attack was made in front, wagons were moving to the right or the left of the enemy, and it was assumed that he was in retreat. To ascertain the state of affairs, a reconnoissance by Sickles' corps was made, resulting in the capture of some troops, who stated that the wagons were ordnance following General Jackson and staff. General Sickles then advanced in the hope of cutting the enemy in two, but at 5 o'clock, while the movement was in progress, a terrific crash of musketry announced Jackson's appearance in force on the extreme right, where was Schurz's division of the eleventh corps; with wild yells the Confederates rushed on in overwhelming numbers. The Germans, overborne, broke and fled, having no confidence in their commander, who was not a military man. In vain officers stormed and entreated; the men sullenly made their way to the river, followed by those of Devin's and Steinwehr's divisions. The brigades of Bushbeck and McLean held their ground for a time, but were compelled to fall back before the irruption of the enemy, who like a whirlwind rushed in at the opening left by the retreating Germans. At this crisis Captain Best rapidly got his batteries into position on a ridge in a corn-field, and Berry's division of the third corps throwing themselves into the gap, staid the torrent which had threatened to roll up the line in disastrous confusion. Manfully the small band bore up against the fierce assault of the desperate foe, and by dint of endurance succeeded in staying the storm until supports arrived, although forced back some distance. The enemy's force, composed of the divisions of D. H. Hill, and that of Trimble, held the works and the guns captured from the eleventh corps and a portion of those of Williams, while Sickles regained, with great risk, his communication by another route. In this

affair the enemy sustained the irreparable loss of General Jackson, whose left arm was broken by a shot, while another passed through his right hand. These wounds caused his death. General A. P. Hill took command. It became necessary to order a night attack in order to restore the connection of the Union lines. This was performed by Ward's brigade of Birney's division at 11 o'clock at night, with some degree of success, while the line fell back upon Chancellorsville, when the exhausted men slept on their arms awaiting the events of a new day.

In these operations the enemy had completely turned the Union right, and remained on its rear, compelling a complete change of position, which would throw the enemy out of the rear into the front. Early on the 3d, the line of battle was soon formed. The road to Ely's Ford runs from Chancellorsville to the Rapidan, making an angle with the Gordonsville road. The right of the position was thrown back upon that road. The whole line then formed three sides of a square. It faced north-west, and was perpendicular to the Gordonsville road; General Berry's division on the right, General Birney next on the left, General Whipple and General Williams supporting. At 5½ A. M. the advance became engaged in the ravine, just beyond the ridge where Captain Best's guns had made their terrific onslaught the night before. General Berry's division, which had checked the enemy's advance the night before, engaged him again. The enemy advanced his infantry in overwhelming numbers, and seemed determined to crush our forces. But the brave men of Sickles and Slocum, who fought their columns with desperate gallantry, held them in check. The engagement lasted without the slightest intermission from 5½ A. M. to 8.45 P. M., when there was a temporary cessation on our part, occasioned by getting out of ammunition. The enemy, with the divisions of A. P. Hill, McLaws and Anderson, added to those of Jackson's corps, pressed in front with wonderful persistence, although the batteries of the third corps did terrible execution. Their batteries replied with great effect, shelling and setting on fire the Chancellor mansion, a large brick structure occupied by General Hooker as head-quarters. The Union troops held the position for nearly an hour with the bayonet, and then an order was given to fall back one mile towards the river, where an-

other stand was made behind intrenchments. This left the line of battle lying on the edge of the woods, three quarters of a mile north of Chancellorsville, parallel with the Ely ford road and crossing the main road leading to the United States Ford. This line was maintained through the 4th. In these movements General Berry was killed, Generals Devin and Mott wounded.

It now became evident that the enemy were augmenting in force; and as nothing had been heard from Stoneman, it was inferred that his expedition had failed. The rations taken by the army for eight days were nearly exhausted, and the ammunition was getting short, since for celerity of movement only the caissons had been brought over to supply the guns. The men had taken forty rounds of cartridges in their cartouches, and forty rounds extra in their knapsacks. These mostly fell into the hands of the enemy. One of those heavy easterly storms, common to the month of May on the Atlantic coast, now set in with copious rains, and the river rose rapidly behind the army, covering the fords and threatening the pontoon bridges, of which there were three. The rapid rise in the water made it necessary to take up one to prolong the other two. General Hooker, under these circumstances, as despondent as he was confident when no danger threatened, called a council, and a retreat was decided upon against a majority of votes. The heavy guns and wagons were sent over on Monday night, and the troops began to follow, the fifth corps covering the retreat. The terrible storm and the darkness of the night favored the retreat. One by one the various corps left the intrenchments, filed to the rear, and passed the river, standing once more on the north bank amid the mud that had so long held Burnside fast. The quantity of arms, munitions and stores abandoned to the enemy exceeded the losses resulting from any other battle. The number of wounded left behind was large, and General Hooker sent over a flag offering to send surgeons, rations and medicines. General Lee accepted the surgeons, but declined the rations and medicines.

While these events were taking place, Sedgwick had formed an attack with the sixth army corps on the works back of Fredericksburg, held by General Early with one of Barksdale's brigades of McLaws' division. Directly

west, out of the town of Fredericksburg, runs a road to Chancellorsville; less than a mile from the main street of the town, this road ascends Marye's hill, that, while the ascent is toilsome, is not so steep as to render ineffective the fire of artillery and musketry. At the summit is Marye's house. A road leaving Chancellorsville runs south across the front and right of the hill, near its base. The latter road has a substantial stone wall on each side of it, and these roads, with a little assistance from the spade, had been converted into excellent breastworks. About the centre of the first wall was a little house, which made the position the stronger. Around the hill's crest runs a well-constructed earthwork, in which there was one large howitzer. Both flanks of this hill were completely swept by the fire of works of the same character on either side. To the Union left of this position was an open ploughed field, on the farther side of which were the stone walls. To the right was an open green plain, and here there were no pits at the foot of the hill, so the way was clear to the crest, although every inch of it was under fire. Worst of all, perhaps, was the central approach, which was the road. Though at its exit from the town this road is covered by a few houses, it is fairly under fire all the way, and at the ascent of the hill it is a mere gulch, broken and stony, and an awful place for men to be packed in under a plunging fire of grape and canister, in addition to the musketry fire. The right column was formed of the sixty-first Pennsylvania regiment, Colonel Spear, and the forty-third New York, Colonel Baker. It was supported by two regiments in line, the first Long Island, Colonel Nelson Cross, and the eighty-second Pennsylvania, Major Bassett. These two regiments were part of Shaler's brigade, and Shaler went with them. The left column of attack was formed of the seventh Massachusetts, Colonel Johns, and the thirty-sixth New York, Lieutenant-Colonel Welsh, supported by the sixth Maine and fifth Wisconsin in line, and the forty-third New York as skirmishers in the field to the left. The two columns numbered 3,000. The columns of attack were formed at 10 A. M. on the 3d, and advanced steadily up the slopes, which proved to be very steep. As they approached the works they were met with a withering storm of grape and musketry, which smote the heads of columns

like a simoom, wounding Colonel Spear. On they pressed, however, with firm step, while the fire redoubled upon them, and finally their thinned ranks gave way, involving the forty-third, and they retired behind advancing supports, under Shaler, when they again rallied, and with the fresh troops pressed over the works at the point of the bayonet, driving out the enemy and capturing twelve guns. Meantime in the left column matters were somewhat the same. The colonel of the Massachusetts seventh was hit, and his regiment faltered also, but was rallied handsomely by Colonel Walsh, of the thirty-sixth New York, and with those glorious fellows it went on once more. The supports in the open plain drew the enemy's fire heavily; but they went on steadily from the first, and went into the work with the rest.

Early on the following day (Monday), while Hooker was left in comparative repose, large masses of the enemy reappeared on the heights east of Fredericksburg, driving out the small force that held them. The enemy in increasing numbers pressed Sedgwick during the day, cutting him up badly, and forcing him back to the river, near Banks's Ford. His force being far inferior to the enemy, he found it impossible to maintain his position, which, however, he succeeded in doing until after night-fall, when he made arrangements for the hazardous experiment of recrossing the river under fire.

This he successfully carried out between 12 and 2 A. M., on the morning of the 5th. The enemy held positions with their artillery raking the bridges over which Sedgwick was obliged to move his men, necessarily creating some confusion in the ranks as the columns moved over, and causing considerable loss of life.

They also pressed hotly upon his rear, when they discovered he was retreating, and harassed him incessantly. He succeeded in getting his force over, but it was terribly cut up, losing one third its number.

The enemy at the same time obtained a position on the hills on the south bank of the Rappahannock, scarcely two miles below the United States Ford, and commenced a vigorous shelling of our trains lying posted on the north side of the river, close to the ford. Several men were injured by these shells, and one or two killed.

The column of Stoneman, on passing the river at

Kelly's Ford, was divided into three columns, under Stoneman, Averill and Buford. The main column under Stoneman moved upon Richmond by Louisa Court-House and Montpelier, crossing the South Anna at Squirrel Bridge. One of the three columns, commanded by Brigadier-General Averill, pushed on to Brandy Station, where it met the enemy's pickets, and drove them back in a short skirmish. It then pushed on to Culpepper Court-House, where Generals Fitzhugh and William Henry Lee were found with a rebel force of perhaps 500 cavalry, which fled precipitately back across Cedar Mountain.

At Culpepper Court-House General Averill pushed on after the retreating Lees, following them to Rapidan Station, where they burned the railroad bridge, over which they retreated after a smart fight, in which they lost Colonel Rosser (late of the U. S. army), who commanded one of the brigades. Our loss there was inconsiderable, and they lost several killed besides Colonel Rosser, and also thirty-one prisoners, whom General Averill brought back with him. The object of Averill's expedition seems to have been to destroy this (Rapidan) bridge, which the enemy in their panic did for him. After proceeding as far as Orange Court-House, he returned with his force to the main army, joining it at Chancellorsville on Sunday. One column of Stoneman's force, under General Buford, pushed on directly towards Gordonsville, cutting the Central railroad between Gordonsville and Charlottesville.

The column under Stoneman went forward to Hanover Court-House, injuring some of the bridges, until within five miles of Richmond, together with a large amount of property, and causing great alarm in and about the Confederate capital, and made good its escape into the Federal lines on the Peninsula. Thus the general plan of the cavalry expedition was carried out, but was barren of results. It did not interrupt the enemy's communications. The small force was not only divided, but remained so; and Averill on his return was ordered under arrest by General Hooker, for not carrying out his instructions, and opening communication with Stoneman.

Thus the third experiment of an advance upon Richmond by way of Fredericksburg, with an army of 120,000 men failed, as did that of Pope by way of Gordonsville, and McClellan by the Peninsula. Of that army which

had been so long in preparation, and which, nine days before, when it went forth full of hope to battle, the confident general had pronounced "the finest army on this planet," there now remained in their old quarters, the shattered regiments, the decimated batteries, the scattered trains, and the crowded hospitals; sad proofs of incompetency in the commander, who had, indeed, displayed great courage in the field, but so had every soldier. If courage is the only requisite for a commander, every soldier there was a Napoleon or a Caesar. The whole plan of campaign seemed to have been, on the part of the general, a grasping after great effects without comprehending the situation or the means of execution. The dividing of the army was an error, unless it was to be combined in attack. It was done to deceive the enemy, and did not deceive him at all. The enemy, having an inside line of communication, held Sedgwick in check, while by a rapid flank march he assaulted Hooker on his extreme right, while that general was expecting him on his extreme left. This attack was made at 5 P. M. on Monday, and the army retired from its line making every preparation for the battle of Sunday, with the hazardous experiment of a forced change of front in face of the enemy. Sedgwick did not attack Fredericksburg until 10 A. M. Sunday, when he succeeded in carrying the first line after a repulse; and in attempting to communicate with Hooker was again repulsed at Salem Church. At the same time the main army retired to a new third line of defence, where it did nothing all day Monday, while the enemy had returned upon Sedgwick in full force and destroyed him, Hooker making no attempt to succor him, although the two armies were but four miles distant. Indeed it is related that one soldier fought in Hooker's army, followed the enemy, took part with Sedgwick, and after his repulse returned to Hooker. General Hooker alleged that his left wing, or that towards Sedgwick, was not engaged at all. Had Stoneman's cavalry been with the main army at its accustomed duty, the surprise and defeat of the eleventh corps on the right could not have occurred, and the defeat of the enemy would have possibly resulted. As it was, none of the views of General Hooker were justified in the event. He commenced the campaign to open the road to Richmond. He intended to surprise the enemy, to force him to fight on his (Hook-

er's) ground, to defeat him in battle, to cut his communication and capture his army. The only thing attained was to cause the enemy to fight on the ground chosen by Hooker. He was not surprised, nor defeated, nor captured, nor were his lines cut, since he received all his reinforcements and supplies. The grand result was a severe check to the Union arms through the incompetency of the commander.

For downright pluck, up and down fighting, and determination to conquer, the battles of the Rappahannock outshine those of the Peninsula, but will stand forth in history as the inevitable result of the disregard of two strategic rules of importance. A Napoleon might have set them at defiance and substituted his genius for the natural law which rules the fate of battles; a Hooker attempted to do so and failed, dragging down a gallant army, perhaps 140,000 strong, in the futile attempt.

To turn Lee's left, he should have concentrated his forces at a point near Germania Mills, and instead of deploying in line, should have massed his men and broken through the opposing line by weight of numbers. The Confederates returned to the attack on Sunday and Monday. Hooker was forced to contract his lines still farther, relying on Sedgwick's left attack and Stoneman's diversion as a means to extricate his army from a false position. Sedgwick took the first line of intrenchments in rear of Fredericksburg at a time when the Confederates had concentrated their troops on the left for the purpose of turning Hooker's right and driving him back to the Rappahannock, and the intrenchments fell, an easy prey, into his hands; but he had scarcely established himself in them and prepared to join in the battle which was raging to his north-west, when Longstreet came up from Suffolk, in Southern Virginia, and drove Sedgwick's army back across the Rappahannock. Hooker's left was thus uncovered, and the result was no longer doubtful. Longstreet had merely to turn Hooker's left, by advancing along the plain which extends between the hills behind Fredericksburg and the Rappahannock, in rear of Hooker's position. This he appears to have done two miles below United States Ford, and Hooker retired utterly discomfited. His fall proves that in his case it was highly imprudent to divide his army, still more so to give battle with a deep river in his rear; and culpable to expect Sedgwick to hold a position

of great importance and danger with a mere 20,000 men. Fredericksburg was the key of the position, and covered Hooker's left. Lee perceived this as soon as Hooker's plans were unfolded, and retook it the moment its possession involved the fall of Hooker's army.

The seven divisions engaged in these battles numbered over 140,000 men. The most severe loss was in Sedgwick's, 5,955 men. The total loss was over 30,000. It was represented that but a small portion were actually engaged, but every brigade contributed its quota to the casualties. The enemy's divisions under Generals Ewell, Early, Jackson, Longstreet, and Anderson, and the two Hills, with the cavalry of General Stuart, were engaged, and were well supplied with ammunition and food. Their loss was heavy—reported at 20,000. Among the Federal killed were Major-General Berry,* who died gallantly leading his men in a repulse of the enemy on Sunday night; also General Whipple, who was shot by one of the enemy's sharpshooters. The enemy had to deplore General Jackson (Stone wall), who lost his left arm on Saturday, and to that accident

* Major-General Hiram Gregory Berry, of the United States Volunteers, was born in Thomaston (now Rockland), Maine, August 27, 1824. He was a carpenter some years, and afterward engaged in navigation. Served in the State legislature; was mayor of Rockland; and held various offices in the Maine militia. Under the call for troops in the spring of 1861, he was made colonel of the fourth Maine volunteers, and participated in the battle of Bull Run, where it fought in Acting General Howard's brigade. Subsequently the command was in one of the brigades commanded by General Sedgwick. The regiment was afterward transferred to General Birney's brigade, and in Hamilton's division participated in the siege of Yorktown. Upon General Kearney's taking command of the division, Colonel Berry, who had been made brigadier-general of volunteers on the 4th of April, 1862, was placed in charge of the third brigade of Heintzelman's army corps, which change separated him from his regiment. He participated in the battle of Fair Oaks, June 1, 1862, and the Seven Days' battles, June 25th to July 1st. On the 15th of August, General Berry moved with his brigade to Yorktown, and thence to Alexandria; thence by rail to Warrenton Junction, from which point they marched to the Rappahannock, and on the 29th and 30th of August participated with Kearney's division in the battles of Manassas or Second Bull Run. September 1st he took part in the battle of Chantilly, where Kearney lost his life. At the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, General Berry's brigade of the third army corps drove back a rebel force, thereby saving a good portion of Birney's division from harm. General Berry was nominated by the President major-general of volunteers in January, 1863, with rank from November 29, 1862; was renominated on the 7th of March, and confirmed March 9, 1863. He was placed in command of the second division of the third army corps, under General Sickles, and in that position fell at the head of his command, near Chancellorsville.

was ascribed the diminished vigor of the enemy's attacks during the remainder of the battles. The loss of General Jackson, who had earned the foremost military reputation of the war, was a severe blow to the Confederate cause, and one for which the victory illy compensated.



MAJ. GEN. D. F. SICKLES



MAJ. GEN. MEADE



BRIG. GEN. LOCUM



GEN. W. L. HANCOCK



GEN. Q. A. GILLMORE



GEN. J. WALLACE



MAJ. GEN. FFYES



GEN. OSTERHAUS



MAJ. GEN. M. C. CERNAND



GEN. PLEASANTON



BRIG. GEN. PHIL. KEARNEY



BRIG. GEN. FOSTER

CHAPTER XLII.

Army of the Potomac.—Position.—Milroy at Winchester.—Lee's Movements.—Ewell's Advance.—Strategy.—Capture of Milroy's Army.—General Hooker.—His Retreat.—Sufferings.—Proclamation.—Alarm.—Success of Lee.—Invasion.—Removal of Hooker.—Meade.—Ewell at York.—Lee's Change of Plan.—Army of Potomac.—Concentration of the Enemy.—Gettysburg.—Union Army Concentrates.—Defeat of Lee.—The Retreat.

AFTER the return of the army of the Potomac to the north side of the Rappahannock, from the fatal day of Chancellorsville, early in May, a state of apparent quiet remained. The army of Hooker was largely composed of nine months and two years men, whose time had expired in June, and as yet no means had been taken by the Federal government to supply their places under the Conscription law which had passed Congress in February. The act itself was far from popular, but its enemies made the most strenuous objections to the clause which permitted a conscript to buy off for a sum of \$300. This, and other reasons connected with the enrollment, prevented any speedy arrangements for the procurement of men; and as the month of June approached, the beaten army of Hooker was about to be depleted by the return home of men who had served sufficient time to have learned their duties. The army retained its position on the Rappahannock, and the public were amused with statements that Hooker was about, by some mysterious means, to resume the offensive.

The anxiety of Hooker to gain some information of the enemy induced him to order a cavalry reconnoissance in force on the 9th, on which day Pleasanton's seven regiments of infantry, six batteries, and 10,000 cavalry crossed the Rappahannock simultaneously at Beverly's and Kelley's Fords and at intermediate places, about daylight, both of the main columns pushing forward toward Brandy Station, five miles below Culpepper Court-House, with the design of getting in the rear of the enemy, who was between the Court-

House and Station. They captured his pickets, and thus prevented early intelligence of the movements being reported to the enemy.

At 7 o'clock the enemy were encountered, under General Stuart, with Generals W. R. Lee's, Hampton Legion, Jones' and Robertson's brigades, with the Beauregard battery from Lynchburg, and one other company of artillery. The total force numbered about four thousand.

After a severe fight, the objects being attained, General Pleasanton recalled his troops across the Rappahannock, at Beverly's Ford. In this battle the value of the cavalry arm, as compared with the same of the enemy, was well sustained.

The Confederate commander issued the following order :

"GENERAL ORDER, NO. 24.

"HEAD-QUARTERS, CAVALRY DIVISION, *June 15, 1863.*

"The Major-General Commanding congratulates the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia upon the victory of Fleetwood, achieved, under Providence, by the prowess of their arms, on the 9th instant.

"Comrades! Two divisions of the enemy's cavalry and artillery, escorted by a strong force of infantry, 'tested your metal,' and found it proof steel. Your sabre blows, inflicted on that glorious day, have taught them again the weight of Southern vengeance.

"You confronted, with cavalry and horse artillery alone, this force, held the infantry in check, routed the cavalry and artillery, capturing three pieces of the latter without losing a gun, and added six flags to the trophies of the nation, besides inflicting a loss in killed, wounded and missing, at least double our own, causing the entire force to retire beyond the Rappahannock.

"Nothing but the enemy's infantry, strongly posted in the woods, saved his cavalry from capture or annihilation. An act of rashness on his part was severely punished by rout and the loss of his artillery.

"With an abiding faith in the God of battles, and a firm reliance on the sabre, your successes will continue. Let the example and heroism of our lamented fallen comrades prompt us to renewed vigilance, and inspire us with devotion to duty.

"J. E. B. STUART, *Major-General Commanding.*"

The chief duty of the army of the Potomac, as ever, seemed to be to remain as a curtain between the enemy and the national capital. Fortress Monroe was held by General Dix with a force of 20,000 men, General Wool having been transferred to the military district of New York and the East; General Schenck was in command at Baltimore, where he had been since the breaking up of Fremont's corps, and General Milroy was under his orders,

holding Winchester with 12,000 men. This position, for some reason, Milroy held in spite of reiterated orders.

As far back as the previous November, General Cullum, chief of General Halleck's staff, was sent to examine and report upon the condition of the works at Winchester, and his report was, not merely that the works were indefensible from bad location *per se*; but the place itself required no works, and ought to have no heavy garrison, it being merely, in General Cullum's own phrase, "an eye of the National army looking down the Shenandoah Valley;" an advanced outpost, from which information could be communicated at an early moment to Harper's Ferry of any advance of the enemy in this direction. It was upon this report General Halleck advised General Schenck to withdraw all forces from Winchester, leaving there merely strong cavalry pickets to act as scouts and videttes; and later, when the advance of Lee from Fredericksburg became known, this advice took the form of a peremptory order for the immediate withdrawal of General Milroy's forces.

These two officers, Schenck and Milroy, were both political appointments, made under the same pressure of which the President complained to General McClellan, when he was compelled to take from him Blenker's division for the Mountain department.

This being the position of the Federal forces, General Lee having profited by the immense spoils of the field of Chancellorsville, had recruited and supplied his army, and was ready to execute his long-cherished project of an invasion of the North. This movement was commenced about the 9th June, by the corps of General Ewell, up the valley of the Shenandoah, for the seizure of Milroy, against whose conduct the loudest complaints had been raised, and who had been outlawed by the proclamation of Jefferson Davis against the officers of Pope. The march of Ewell was remarkable for its celerity and success. The distance from Fredericksburg to Winchester is ninety miles, through a densely peopled region. And yet so odious had Milroy made the Union cause, that not an individual could be found in all that distance, to warn him of the approaching foe, who surprised and drove in his advanced guard. While Hooker remained in perfect ignorance of the enemy's movement around his left flank, Ewell had struck this important blow. Right across the

State of Virginia, starting from the Potomac at Harper's Ferry, and running in a south-westerly direction to the southern limit of the State, stretches the Blue Ridge of mountains, intersected by infrequent roads or "gaps," through which alone it is possible for armies to penetrate. Upon the possession of these gaps depended the mastery of the situation, as General Lee's army edged off from Fredericksburg towards Winchester. If he had moved off prematurely from Culpepper Court-House and seized these gaps, General Ewell's mission against the force of General Milroy at Winchester would have been frustrated, as General Milroy would have heard that the whole army was moving, and would have slipped off to Harper's Ferry. If, after General Ewell had struck his blow at Winchester, General Lee had been slow about seizing the gaps, he might have exposed himself and General Ewell to great danger, if General Hooker, acting promptly, had seized the gaps, and interposed between Lee and Ewell.

As it was, the march of General Ewell against Winchester was swift, silent, and successful; the occupation of the three great gaps in the mountain range was timed to a minute.

When General Hooker at last became aware of a movement of the enemy, he started off a body of his cavalry to race for the possession of the northernmost road through Snicker's Gap. They found General Fitzhugh Lee already in possession, and behind him one of the finest infantry divisions in the Confederate army. In vain did the Federal cavalry, under General Pleasanton, race for possession of the next, or Ashby's Gap, supported by a large body of artillery and infantry. There they found General Stuart and his cavalry thrown out in advance of the gap at Aldie, and here, on the 17th and 19th instant, there were fierce skirmishes.

But the blow had been struck at Milroy, and Lee was anxious to draw a Union force into the gap, in which, however, he did not succeed. At Chester's Gap, the road which traverses the mountain near Front Royal was seized by General A. P. Hill, and with these three gaps in his possession, General Lee could hold them with insignificant bodies of men, and behind the screen of the mountains manœuvre, unseen by and beyond the reach of General Hooker.

Meantime Ewell had come upon Milroy, and surrounded Winchester before he had been warned of the approach of an enemy. Although he had three cavalry regiments, the first New York, thirtieth Pennsylvania, and third Virginia stationed at Berryville. On the 13th the Union pickets were driven into the town, the enemy surrounding the place, and carrying the intrenchments by assault. General Milroy and his troops retired into two large forts in rear of the town. He intimated that unless he was allowed to march out with his stores, &c., he would burn the town. It was replied that in the event of such an attempt there would be no quarter given. General Milroy then abandoned his army and fled in the dress of a civilian. All his guns, arms, munitions and immense stores were abandoned to the enemy. The road by which Milroy escaped was held by the Confederates under Johnson. About 3,000 troops, abandoned by Milroy, were captured near Martinsburg by General Rhodes, altogether about 5,000 prisoners, thirty pieces of artillery, between 100 and 200 wagons, large commissary, clothing, and medical stores, and about 400 horses (the rest having been pressed into the service of aiding the flight of the troops) fell into the hands of the Confederates in the town of Winchester.

A small portion of Milroy's command fled to Harper's Ferry, held by General Tyler. General Ewell pushed on to Boonesborough, in Maryland, where he remained for some days, while his cavalry, under Jenkins and Imboden, were collecting forage and all manner of provisions.

Meantime General Hooker, on becoming convinced that the enemy in his front were moving towards the valley, sent forward the sixth corps, which had occupied the river below Fredericksburg. Belle Plain and Aquia Creek were evacuated and the property destroyed. The wounded and sick were sent to Washington. The sixth corps arrived at Dumfries on the night of the 14th, and the main body of the army held the Rappahannock from Banks's to Kelley's Ford. The Union commander was entirely in doubt in respect to the movements of Lee's army. The day Ewell occupied Boonesborough, Hooker's headquarters left Falmouth. When the news reached him that the enemy had actually crossed the Potomac, he put his columns in rapid motion for the north, and with as much secrecy as possible.

On the 27th, the head-quarters, by a long and forced march in the most intense heat, reached Fredericksburg, which had just been abandoned by the enemy. During the march, the thermometer ranging from 92° to 98° in the shade, the soldiers suffered severely, there being reported more than 1,000 cases of sun-stroke. The route was very trying to the Union troops. Marching, as were the Confederates, along the Blue Ridge, they found abundant springs of cool and excellent limestone water, whereas the march of the Union troops was over one of the thirstiest plains in Virginia—a district which, in the previous year, retarded the troops of Stonewall Jackson for several days, and delayed the discomfiture of General Pope, and which took ample toll from the host of General Hooker.

Accordingly, the two armies moving north attained their destinations in different condition. That of Lee crossed the Potomac on the 25th, in better condition than it had been for months, and two days after the attenuated army of Hooker got to Fredericksburg, almost exhausted with fatigue.

On the advance of the enemy up the valley, the greatest consternation was produced at Washington as well as in Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, and at Philadelphia. There had been some steps taken towards obtaining men under the Conscription law passed at the previous session of Congress, but the exigency of an invasion of Pennsylvania was too pressing to allow of the slow progress of conscription. The President, therefore, on the 15th, issued the following proclamation :

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

“A PROCLAMATION.

“WASHINGTON, *June 15, 1863.*

“Whereas, the armed insurrectionary combinations now existing in several of the States are threatening to make inroads into the States of Maryland, Western Virginia, Pennsylvania and Ohio, requiring immediately an additional military force for the service of the United States;

“Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy thereof, and of the militia of the several States when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States one hundred thousand militia, from the States following, namely:

“From the State of Maryland, ten thousand.

“From the State of Pennsylvania, fifty thousand.

"From the State of Ohio, thirty thousand.

"From the State of Western Virginia, ten thousand.

"To be mustered into the service of the United States forthwith, and to serve for the period of six months from the date of such muster into said service, unless sooner discharged; to be mustered in as infantry, artillery and cavalry, in proportions which will be made known through the war department, which department will also designate the several places of rendezvous.

"These militia are to be organized according to the rules and regulations of the volunteer service, and such orders as may hereafter be issued.

"The States aforesaid will be respectively credited under the Enrollment Act for the militia service rendered under this proclamation.

"In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

"Done at the city of Washington, this 15th day June, in the year of our Lord 1863, and of the United States, the 87th.

"(Signed)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"By the President.

"WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*"

On the same day, the governor of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation, calling upon all citizens "capable of bearing arms to enroll themselves in military organizations, and to encourage all others to give aid and assistance to the efforts which will be put forth for the protection of the State and the salvation of our common country; who love liberty and are mindful of the history and traditions of their revolutionary fathers, and who feel that it is a sacred duty to guard and maintain the free institutions of our country."

The State of New York was immediately called upon for 20,000 troops, and on the same day, the seventh, eighth and seventy-first regiments left New York for Pennsylvania, followed promptly by troops from other States. At the call of the President in the regular way for men, the troops crowded to the front with an enthusiasm nowise diminished from the first burst of popular fervor on the outbreak of the war. The greatest exertions were made to remove the public property from Harrisburg, which seemed to be the point of attack. On the 18th June, General Heintzelman, from Washington, wrote to Governor Curtin that Stuart's cavalry might be expected in Harrisburg on the 16th. The State property was packed up and means taken to remove the archives. The same fears were entertained for Baltimore and Washington, and some of the foreign ministers ordered their national vessels from New

York round to the Potomac to secure the archives of the embassies.

The plans of the enemy in the mean time were matters of great doubt and mystery, and the alarm was in proportion to the mystery.

It is no doubt the case that his plans depended for their full development upon the success of his movements.

By the capture of Winchester he had acquired a vast amount of ammunition and supplies. His army was composed of three corps of some 30,000 men each, under Hill, Longstreet, and Ewell respectively, with a cavalry force under Stuart, which menaced Washington south of the Potomac. In throwing this force across the Potomac, it became necessary to depend upon the country for supplies, and upon victory for ammunition, since with each mile of advance the difficulty of communication became greater. Accordingly General Lee left Winchester with 120 rounds for each man.

The actual crossing of the Potomac, which was effected by Generals Lee and Longstreet at Williamsport on the 25th, and by various divisions of the Confederate army at the same point, and at Shepherdstown about the same date, had in it much of the enthusiasm which accompanied the entry of the Confederates into Maryland before the battle of Sharpsburg. It was then the impression of the Southern army that they were entering into the friendly State of Maryland, ground down under the iron heel of a despotic government, and anxious and willing, upon the first opportunity, to arise and burst its bonds. But the unmistakable sympathy of Hagerstown, Boonsborough, Sharpsburg, and other small towns in Western Maryland with the Union, the jeers and taunts of the women at the expense of the rebels, taught the latter to expect in the western counties of Maryland no more aid and comfort.

The march continued with celerity, and the advance reached Chambersburg June 27, when the following proclamation was issued:

“GENERAL ORDER, NO. 73.

“HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
“CHAMBERSBURG, PA., *June 27.*

“The Commanding General has observed with marked satisfaction the conduct of the troops on the march, and confidently anticipates results commensurate with the high spirit they have manifested. No



GEN. F. LOE

troops could have displayed greater fortitude or better performed the arduous marches of the past ten days. Their conduct in other respects has, with few exceptions, been in keeping with their character as soldiers, and entitles them to approbation and praise.

"There have, however, been instances of forgetfulness on the part of some, that they have in keeping the yet unsullied reputation of the army, and that the duties exacted of us by civilization and Christianity are not less obligatory in the country of the enemy than our own.

"The Commanding General considers that no greater disgrace could befall the army, and through it our whole people, than the perpetration of the barbarous outrages upon the innocent and defenceless, and the wanton destruction of private property, that have marked the course of the enemy in our own country. Such proceedings not only disgrace the perpetrators, and all connected with them, but are subversive of the discipline and efficiency of the army, and destructive of the ends of our present movement. It must be remembered that we make war only upon armed men, and that we cannot take vengeance for the wrongs our people have suffered without lowering ourselves in the eyes of all whose abhorrence has been excited by the atrocities of our enemy, and offending against Him to whom vengeance belongeth, without whose favor and support our efforts must all prove in vain.

"The Commanding General, therefore, earnestly exhorts the troops to abstain, with the most scrupulous care, from unnecessary or wanton injury to private property; and he enjoins upon all officers to arrest and bring to summary punishment all who shall in any way offend against the orders on this subject.

"R. E. LEE, *General.*"

On the same day on which General Lee thus inaugurated his entry into Pennsylvania, Hooker's army hurriedly entered Frederick, which had been held by the enemy's pickets; and on the following day Colonel Hardie arrived at the head-quarters of the army of the Potomac by special train from Washington, as a bearer of despatches, relieving General Hooker from the command of the army of the Potomac, and appointing Major-General Meade, commanding the fifth corps, his successor. Soon after the reception of the orders at head-quarters, General Hooker issued the following address:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"FREDERICK, Md., *June 23, 1863.*

"In conformity with the orders of the War Department, dated June 27, 1863, I relinquish the command of the Army of the Potomac. It is transferred to Major-General George G. Meade, a brave and accomplished officer, who has nobly earned the confidence and esteem of the army on many a well-fought field. Impressed with the belief that my usefulness as the commander of the Army of the Potomac is impaired, I part from it, yet not without the deepest emotion.

The sorrow of parting with the comrades of so many battles is relieved by the conviction that the courage and devotion of this army will never cease; that it will yield to my successor, as it has to me, a willing and hearty support. With the earnest prayer that the triumph of its arms may bring successes worthy of it and the nation, I bid it farewell.

"JOSEPH HOOKER, *Major-General*.

"S. F. BARSTOW, *Acting Adjutant-General*."

General Hooker immediately left, and General Meade assumed command in the following address:

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
"June 28, 1863.

"By direction of the President of the United States, I hereby assume command of the Army of the Potomac. As a soldier, in obeying this order, an order totally unexpected and unsolicited, I have no promises or pledges to make. The country looks to this army to relieve it from the devastation and disgrace of a hostile invasion. Whatever fatigues and sacrifices we may be called upon to undergo, let us have in view constantly the magnitude of the interests involved, and let each man determine to do his duty, leaving to an all-controlling Providence the decision of the contest. It is with just diffidence that I relieve in the command of this army, an eminent and accomplished soldier, whose name must ever appear conspicuous in the history of its achievements; but I rely upon the hearty support of my companions in arms to assist me in the discharge of the duties of the important trust which has been confided to me.

"GEORGE G. MEADE, *Major-General commanding*.

"S. F. BARSTOW, *Assistant Adjutant-General*."

The enemy continued his forward movement, but his cavalry, which was very numerous, made demonstrations in various directions, collecting cattle and such drugs and merchandise as were most useful to him. A march in the direction of Pittsburg caused great excitement in that city. Business was suspended, and the citizens turned out to work on the defences. General Ewell, in command of the second corps of the Confederate army, swept on to Carlisle, and thence proceeded eastward towards York, where he cut the railroad which connects Harrisburg and Washington. Chambersburg was occupied, and many supplies drawn thence. The cavalry under General Earley entered York and levied a contribution of \$100,000 upon the place. He then issued the following proclamation:

GENERAL EARLEY TO THE PEOPLE OF YORK.

"To the Citizens of York:

"I have abstained from burning the railroad bridges and car shops

in your town because, after examination, I am satisfied the safety of the town would be endangered; and acting in the spirit of humanity, which has ever characterized my government and its military authorities, I do not desire to involve the innocent in the same punishment with the guilty. Had I applied the torch without regard to consequences, I would have then pursued a course that would have been fully vindicated as an act of just retaliation for the authorized acts of barbarity perpetrated by your own army on our soil; but we do not war upon women and children; and I trust the treatment you have met with at the hands of my soldiers will open your eyes to the odious tyranny under which it is apparent to all you are yourselves groaning

"J. A. EARLEY,
"Major-General U. S. A."

The designs of the enemy still remained a mystery, and this fact gave rise to many fears. It was surmised that he intended to hold the line of the Susquehannah, occupying Baltimore and reducing Washington. But there were many who supposed the sacking of Philadelphia was, if not the main object, a collateral design of the invasion. On the 29th, the mayor issued the following proclamation:

PROCLAMATION FROM THE MAYOR.

TO ARMS!!!

"OFFICE OF THE MAYOR OF THE CITY OF }
PHILADELPHIA, June 29, 1863. }

"Citizens of Philadelphia:

"One more appeal is made to you in the name of duty and of manhood.

"You can close your eyes no longer to the startling danger and disgrace which hang over your State and city. The foot of the rebel is already at the gates of your capital, and unless you arouse to instant action, it may in a few days hence cross your own threshold.

"There is yet time to prepare for defence. You number more than fifty thousand able-bodied men; the means to arm and equip yourselves are at hand.

"Close your manufactories, workshops and stores, before the stern necessity for common safety makes it obligatory. Assemble yourselves forthwith for organization and drill. Come ready to devote yourselves to the protection of your homes until your services shall be no longer needed. Spurn from you those who would delude you to inactivity or disaffection. Their tongues and hearts are more false and hateful than even the invaders of your soil. Let no man refuse to arm who will not be able to justify himself before man and God in sight of a desolated hearth or of a dishonored family.

"ALEXANDER HENRY,
"Mayor of Philadelphia."

Meantime the change in the command of the Union

army decided General Lee to turn his face eastward, and confront the only formidable enemy which he had to fear. General Ewell, recalled from York, shaped his course southward and westward towards Gettysburg to join the army of General Lee in its advance over the South Mountain, and to constitute the left wing of that army. General Stuart made his way out of Virginia, in the immediate neighborhood of Georgetown, where he captured 130 wagons, with six horses or mules apiece, and 100 spare horses attached as supernumeraries. In his passage through Maryland, he cut the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and joined General Ewell on the extreme Confederate left.

General Meade, on taking command of the army, which was situated at Fredericksburg, immediately ordered an advance towards Gettysburg, which point intercepted the communication of Ewell, who commanded Jackson's old corps, and who was at York, with A. P. Hill and Longstreet, who were at South Mountain. The first corps, Reynolds, and the eleventh corps, Howard, proceeded due north and encamped at Emmitsburg. The second and twelfth corps followed in the same direction. At half-past 10 o'clock on the morning of the 1st July, the advance of Reynolds, being the first division under Wadsworth, met the enemy in a wood about four miles west of Gettysburg. This meeting, which led to a terrible engagement, seems to have been a surprise to both parties. The exact whereabouts of the enemy was not known to General Meade, and General Lee was unaware of the rapid northerly march of the Union troops which brought them in his front when he supposed them much nearer to Washington. It appears that the corps of Ewell was moving south from Carlisle, which was, on his departure, occupied by the sixth corps, towards Gettysburg, on the morning of the 1st July. At the same time, A. P. Hill, followed by Longstreet, had left the top of the South Mountain early in the morning, and were emerging from the Mountain gorge at the moment that the guns of Rhodes and Earley, the advance division of Ewell, opened upon the Federal troops. Heth's division of Hill's corps immediately advanced on Ewell's right, while on the Union side, Robinson's division took ground on Wadsworth's right, and Doubleday on the left. These troops received the onslaught of Heth, standing their ground firmly, until General Rey-

nolds finding that his artillery was not properly posted, rode to the front in search of a more effective position. Here he fell, pierced by a number of balls, into the arms of his acting-adjutant, Captain Bond. Major-General Doubleday succeeded to the command. The corps was now heavily pressed by Heth in front, and the two divisions of Ewell on the right, and was obliged to give way. The Confederate General Heth was wounded by a shot in the forehead, which glanced. The eleventh corps was now up, and Howard assumed command. He immediately sent Steinwehr to occupy Cemetery Hill. Barbour and Schurz were ordered to support the first corps.

The memory of Chancellorsville clung to General Schurz, and inspired no confidence, while his nickname of "Flying Dutchman" inspirited the assailants. The two divisions, however, moved through the town, and formed on the right of the first corps. Ewell's (late Jackson's) corps, was now concentrated for the attack, which was promptly made with infinite fury. It was, however, repulsed. The remainder of the corps of A. P. Hill now joined Ewell, and outflanked the Union line. The fighting was now very severe, and Howard sent to the rear for aid from Slocum and Sickles. They were too distant to be of use, however. Under the increasing weight of numbers, the Union lines soon crumbled. Schurz's corps giving way, the whole retreated through the town to Cemetery Hills. These were heights on both sides of the Baltimore pike, southeast of Gettysburg. General Howard, succeeded in rallying his troops upon this position, when the twelfth, Slocum, and third, Sickles, came up and formed on the right and left of Howard. The pursuit by the enemy, under Ewell, was stopped at the town by superior orders, for the night, during which General Meade and staff arrived in front. He now disposed this force on the several hills so as to form a line of battle, the mountain in the centre, held by the first and eleventh, the wings, right and left, receding. The position was a most formidable one.

Just beyond the town of Gettysburg runs a horse-shoe ridge of low, uniform hills, seemingly from two to three miles in length, terminating at both ends in a steep sugar-loaf peak, which thoroughly protected either flank. On the Federal right and centre the hill was almost entirely

bare of trees; on the Federal left the batteries were planted, under the shelter of forest—the sugar-loaf peaks at both ends of the line were densely clothed with timber. To attempt to march round these sugar-loaf pinnacles would have exposed the Confederates to the danger of weakening their front so greatly as to make it easy for General Meade to cut off the flanking force. There was nothing for it but either to attack the Union position right in front, or shrink back into the gorge of the South Mountain, from which they had just emerged, and there to await an attack, or to sidle off the whole Confederate army with its enormous transportation trains towards its right flank in the direction of the Potomac, with its rear clinging to the South Mountain range. Each of these three courses was hazardous. To the second, which might otherwise have been the safest, the great objection was that General Ewell's corps could not be got within the mountain gorge, the single road of which was already occupied by the two corps of Longstreet and A. P. Hill. General Lee determined on the attack.

His plan of battle appears to have been to attack the Union left through General Longstreet's agency, while Generals A. P. Hill and Ewell pressed heavily on the centre and right, with instructions to advance their whole line should Longstreet's attack meet with any success. Two-thirds of the day were away in making preparations for this general attack, in getting the battalions of artillery into position, and disposing the troops, which had been on the tramp for the two previous days, for the onslaught. The Union position, from the nature of the formation, might be considered impregnable. The whole army, with the exception of the sixth corps, here concentrated on Wednesday night, July 1. On Thursday morning the line was formed as follows: Slocum's corps on the right, Howard joining on the left; Hancock's (Couch's), Newton's (Reynolds's), and Sickles's corps in the centre; and Sykes's (Meade's) on the left. Numerically, commencing with the right, the line was formed of the twelfth, eleventh, second, first, third, and fifth corps.

Thus far the whole movement had been accidental. The different corps had been sent forward in loose order, and not within supporting distance. Reynolds had engaged a force of which he had no knowledge, and which was suffi-

cient to crush his own and his support. Howard had been driven back upon a strong position which lay in his way, and General Meade, on his arrival, found him in it, and held it. The rapid concentration of the army upon this position had the effect of causing the army of Lee for the first time to fight at disadvantage. The army of the Potomac now held the strong position, and Lee was become the assailant.

The enemy's skirmishers, thrown out early in the morning of Thursday, continued for many hours to press up close upon the Union lines with more or less vigor, feeling the strength of the various fronts, and seeking to ascertain the position of corps. Where his attack was to be made was matter of profound anxiety to the Union commander. At 4 o'clock the enemy seemed satisfied with his reconnoissance, and from his left there burst forth a terrific cannonade on the right centre of the Union line held by the second and eleventh. During more than two hours this was replied to with great vigor. This artillery duel was felt by all to be but the prelude of the real attack, and the utmost vigilance was exerted to detect the earliest signs of the coming storm. Finally, dark masses of troops are seen assembling on the left. Soon they began to advance, the skirmishers became more numerous and bolder, their supports more solid. Sickles was ordered forward to meet the advancing column with what luck he might, and his front did not swerve or shrink from the shock, when suddenly the roar of artillery ceased, and there poured forth from the woods a rushing column of the combined troops of Longstreet and Hill. On they came, 45,000 men, three columns deep, at the quick step, gleams of light glancing from bayonet and sabre, as the solid earth shook under the rushing mass. The tall form of General Hood, leading the Texans, went down in the melee. Robertson took command, and speedily met the same fate; and then General Law led the charge. The third corps met the storm with its wonted coolness, but was as nothing before the swelling tide of furious foes. Its commander, Sickles, was however, struck by a cannon shot in the knee, and was carried from the field, while his devoted corps, overborne by the terrible irruption of the enemy, gave way, and was cut to pieces. On the enemy's side, the division of McLaws on Hood's left, did not keep up with the rapid

advance of the Texans. When Longstreet threw himself at the head of Wofford's brigade, and led them up the slope under such a fire as has been rarely witnessed, and gained the first Union position. The enemy, gaining new influence from their success, poured through the opening with swelling fury. The second corps was ordered to the breach. It came forward with great alacrity, and threw itself into the melee without counting the odds, and suffered terribly from the fire, its commander, Hancock, receiving a severe wound. The staggering column received support from the fifth, now coming up from the left to the support of the second. A portion of the twelfth, from the extreme right, also reinforced the heroic troops of the centre. The terrible battle was thus fed by successive corps, which fought with superhuman courage and constancy. The enemy, however, pressed on with unwavering determination, and his swarming numbers seemed to swallow every fresh advance of the Federals, although he fought at great disadvantage against the well-placed Union troops. Back, inch by inch, fighting, falling, dying, cheering, the men retired. The rebels came on more furiously, halting at intervals, pouring volleys that struck our troops down in scores, and the enemy pressed on. Up from the valley behind, another battery came rolling to the heights, and flung its contents in an instant down in the midst of the enemy's ranks. Crash! crash! with discharges deafening, terrible, the musketry firing went on; the enemy, reforming after each discharge with wondrous celerity and firmness, still pressed up the declivity, only to meet a staggering fire from new batteries. It was now that the sixth corps, Sedgwick's, arrived on the field, hungry, footsore and weary, from a forced march of thirty-six miles. They were apparently too fatigued to stand. The dangers of the moment, however, and the excitement of battle, wrought a wonderful change in those brave men. They were promptly formed, and precipitated upon the enemy with irresistible force. This was too much for the enemy. His impetus had been lost before, and under this new attack, he staggered, reeled, gave slowly back, and finally broke and retired from the field, as the sun sunk behind the western hills.

While the attack on the Union left thus failed, another attack was formed by Ewell against the extreme right.

which had been weakened, to support the left. A portion of the twelfth corps had been sent to support Sickles, and the enemy taking advantage of this about dark, formed a heavy column of attack and fell upon Slocum with such suddenness and fury that he was driven back some distance. The divisions of Rhodes and Earley actually carried a part of the Cemetery Hill, and had sent down a peremptory entreaty for support to Generals Pinder and Anderson of A. P. Hill's corps. But General Pinder lay at the moment desperately wounded. The request was, for some unknown reason, unheeded by General Anderson. Meantime, the pressure being now removed from the left, the first, second, and sixth corps came to the support of Slocum. The battle was thus renewed with great fury, when, despite the utmost efforts of the Union right, the enemy remained masters of Slocum's position, when the contest, which had raged there from dark, ceased at 10 o'clock. The night remained quiet.

On Friday, May the 3d, Slocum, in the design of recovering his position of the night before, organized an attack upon Ewell. A division of the sixth corps was added to the 12th. Wadsworth's division of the first corps supported Howard's left, and the fifth corps was in reserve at 4 o'clock. Slocum opened a terrific fire upon Ewell, which elicited a most furious charge from the enemy. The Union troops opposed a solid and impenetrable front to perhaps the most furious charge of the war. The deadly fire, coolly delivered, strewed the ground in front with dead in fearful numbers. Officers and men were heaped in unnatural confusion upon the blood-soaked field, but their constancy seemed equal to the emergency, and again and again they were hurled against the Union defences, only to encounter defeat. The steady course and perseverance of Slocum's corps succeeded at last. A division of the fifth corps, Berry's old division of the third, now under Humphreys, supported Leary, when he was close pressed. The enemy seemed now to concentrate his artillery fire, but was replied to with full effect, until a reinforcement of Union troops succeeded in bringing to bear upon the enemy an enfilading fire, which settled the question, and he retired. At 11 o'clock the battle was over.

The enemy's whole line at this time surrounded three sides of the mountain, the Union troops within; but such

was the strength of the position that to take it by assault was most a hopeless undertaking.

Early in the morning of the 3d, General Longstreet's line stood thus: on the extreme right the division of General Hood, commanded by General Law; next to him the division of McLaws—these two divisions being by General Longstreet held in hand to launch against the Union troops should success attend the onward movement to their left. Next to McLaws came the division of General Pickett, of 4,000 men, which was to form the point of the contemplated attack, supported and assisted on its left by the far larger division of General Pettigrew, belonging to A. P. Hill's corps, and ordinarily commanded by General Heth, who received a wound on the first day. This division, with the brigade of Wilcox, numbered 10,000; as a prelude to the attack, a heavy cannonade was opened from all the Confederate batteries, numbering 200 guns; from all points, in a circle radiating around our own, began a terrific and concentrated fire on Cemetery Hill, which was held, as previously stated, by the eleventh and second corps. To this a more than equal number of Union guns responded with infuriate vigor and effect. The storm of shot was beyond the experience of the most veteran troops; an eye-witness thus described its effects.

“The storm broke so suddenly that soldiers and officers—who leaped as it began, from their tents, or from lazy siestas on the grass, were stricken in their rising with mortal wounds and died, some with cigars between their teeth, some with pieces of food in their fingers, and one at least, a pale young German, from Pennsylvania, with a miniature of his sister in his hands, that seemed more meet to grasp an artist's pencil than a musket. Horses fell, shrieking such awful cries as Cooper told of, and writhing themselves about in hopeless agony. The boards of fences, scattered by explosion, flew in splinters through the air. The earth, torn up in clouds, blinded the eyes of hurrying men; and through the branches of the trees and among the grave-stones of the cemetery a shower of destruction crashed ceaselessly.” The hill, which seemed alone devoted to this rain of death, was clear in nearly all its unsheltered places within five minutes after the fire began.

The scenes were similar on the Confederate side. Far

back into the mountains the reverberations rolling from hillside to hillside startled strange and unmusical echoes. Vast cumuli of cloud floated over the strife; horses, the suffering and tortured ministers of man's fury and wrath, lay thickly dead or horribly mutilated upon the ground; constantly from out of the white pall of vapor issued wounded and mangled men, and rumors that this or that general was killed, that this or that regiment was reduced to a corporal's guard, traceable to no authentic source, neither believed nor disbelieved by the listeners, rose as it were out of the ground.

This continued until nearly three. When General Pickett, with his long, flowing hair, affecting the recklessness of a Murat, sprang to the head of his column, which rent the air with a prolonged, hideous, unremitting yell, as they advanced from out the short, scrubby timber that had sheltered them. The Federal position was approached by a large, bare sloping meadow, nearly a mile in width. Across this valley of the shadow of death the Confederates' advance, committed to the divisions of Generals Pickett and Pettigrew, had no option but to proceed, swept by the concentrated fire of the countless Federal guns, and exposed when nearing those guns to hailstorms of musketry bullets. The distance was too great to advance at the double; it was necessary to move slowly and deliberately, that, as the men approached the batteries, there might be some dash left for the final onslaught.

As they approached, the impetus of the advance increased. They climbed fences and rushed along, each one bent upon getting first into the cemetery. The cannon roared, and grape and canister and spherical case fell thick amongst them. Still they rushed onward, hundreds falling out of the line. They came within musket-shot of the Federal troops. Then the small arms began to rattle.

The Confederates approached the line of works. They were laboring on the hill. As they mounted the low bank in front of the rifle-pits, the Federal soldiers retreated out of the ditch behind, turning and firing as they went along. It was a hand-to-hand conflict. Every man fought by himself and for himself. Myriads of the enemy pushed forward down the hill, across into the works and up to the cemetery. All were shouting, and screaming, and swear-

ing, clashing their arms and firing their pieces. The enemy's shells flew over their field upon the Federal artillery on the hills above. These, almost disregarding the storm which raged around them, directed all the fire upon the surging columns of the enemy's charge. Every available cannon on the Cemetery Hill, and to the right and left, threw its shells and shot in the valley. The fight was terrible; but despite every effort the enemy pushed up the hill and across the second line of works. The fire became hotter. The fight swayed back and forth. One moment the enemy would be at the railings of the cemetery; then a rush from the Federal side would drive them down into the valley. Then, with one of their horrid screeches, they would fiercely run up the hill again into the cemetery, and have a fierce battle among the tombstones. It was the hardest fight of the day, and hundreds were slain there.

General Pickett had thus gained the position. But the division of Pettigrew, which was to support him, was not in time. On his success depends the ability of Pickett to hold his ground. As he advances, and is near the guns, there appears a Union force on his left, descending the hill to outflank him. The line halts and falls into confusion. In vain Longstreet, anxiously watching, sends Major Latrobe to Pettigrew with orders "to refuse his left," in other words, to throw out a line obliquely to meet the Union columns. Latrobe's horse is shot under him—he urges his way on foot with desperate speed—"he is too late." The avenging column of Union troops is doing its work. The confused Confederates fell back. The victorious Union troops sweep round in triumph, overlapping Pickett, who is thus forced to let go his hold and retire with what luck he may. Then his corps suffered terrible slaughter. What they lost during the fierce onset up to the Federal guns, was as nothing to the devastation of their ranks as they retired broken and shattered across the slope. Of 4,500 who advanced against those fatal works, 2,500 only were mustered on the following day. Three brigadiers lay upon the field, and one major only, of all the field officers, remained sound. Of thirteen colors carried into action, four only remained with the troops.

With this repulse the battle was over. As it was, both armies, fearfully exhausted by their losses, fell back on

the night of the 3d, to commence on both sides preparations for retreat on the 4th.

The following despatch was sent by General Meade :

"HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

"NEAR GETTYSBURG, July 3—8.30 P. M.

"Major-General HALLECK, General-in-Chief:

"The enemy opened at one o'clock P. M., from about one hundred and fifty guns, concentrated upon my left centre, continuing without intermission for about three hours, at the expiration of which time he assaulted my left centre twice, being upon both occasions handsomely repulsed with severe loss to him, leaving in our hands nearly three thousand prisoners.

"Among the prisoners are Brigadier-General Armisted, and many colonels and officers of lesser rank.

"The enemy left many dead upon the field, and a large number of wounded in our hands.

"The loss upon our side has been considerable. Major-General Hancock and Brigadier-General Gibbon were wounded.

"After the repelling of the assault, indications leading to the belief that the enemy might be withdrawing, an armed reconnoissance was pushed forward from the left, and the enemy found to be in force.

"At the present hour all is quiet.

"My cavalry have been engaged all day on both flanks of the enemy, harassing and vigorously attacking him with great success, notwithstanding they encountered superior numbers, both of cavalry and infantry.

"The army is in fine spirits.

"GEORGE G. MEADE, *Major-General commanding.*"

This was followed by the following :

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 4—10.30 A. M.

"The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac up to ten P. M. of the 3d, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor; to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen; and that for this, he especially desires that on this day, He, whose will, not ours, should ever be done, be everywhere remembered and revered with the profoundest gratitude.

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

On Thursday night, fearing that the enemy had flank parties which might turn his rear, General Meade had serious intentions of retreating, and he called a council of war. A courier then left the Union camp at night, with despatches from General Meade, stating that his headquarters would be at Westminster on the night of the 4th. This was a position twenty miles in the rear of the battlefield towards Washington. The capture of this despatch dispelled all anxiety on the part of General Lee in respect

to the taking of the offensive by General Meade. Meantime, however, General Meade's scouts effected the capture of the courier with despatches from Richmond, from which it was learned that the enemy could receive no reinforcements, and this decided him to remain.

All day long on the 4th, while the big guns on either side frowned at each other in angry silence, General Ewell's enormous train, swollen to vast bulk by the plunder in horses and wagons, which, on their first incursion into Pennsylvania, he had abundantly collected, was filing off behind the Confederate centre and right, and pushing into a pass of the South Mountains (not the same they had traversed when advancing from Chambersburg), which leads obliquely to Hagerstown. Towards evening the wagon train of A. P. Hill's corps, which occupied the centre, followed Ewell; and it was not till long after midnight that the train of Longstreet's corps got underway, and the army concentrated on the evening of the 6th, at Hagerstown, where it remained eight days. Meantime General Meade, having discovered the retrograde movement of Lee, occupied Gettysburg, but made no vigorous effort to pursue.

The last invasion of the North by the Confederate army was now virtually brought to a close, at the moment when the news of the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson arrived to hasten the retreat of General Lee, and to inspire the movements of General Meade. It seems to have been a marked peculiarity of this war, that no very decisive results have been obtained, even by the most hard-fought and bloody battles. In no case has there been any following up of a disconcerted enemy, to gather the fruits of victory. The battle of Bull Run and of Shiloh on the Confederate side, and of Murfreesboro and Gettysburg on the Union side, are notable examples, as well as the three great defeats of Pope, Burnside, and Hooker. In all cases the fruits of victory seem to have been lost for want of vigor in pursuit.

